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Given at Whitehall, the 18th Day of October, 1743, in the Seventeenth Year of his Majesty's Reign,

By their Excellencies Command,

E. WESTON.

T O

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First Lord-Commissioner of the A D M I R A L T Y,

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Is Most Humbly Dedicated by

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

HAVING closed the second Volume with an Account of Guinea, and the European Settlements, (particularly those of the English on the Gold-Coast, accompanied with elegant Draughts of all their Forts and Factories, not long since taken by Order of the Royal African Company) we proceed, in this third Volume, along the Western Shores of Africa; which, thence forward, afford but few Countries resorted to by the Europeans, excepting those of Whidah, Ardrah, Benin, Kongo, and that of the Hottentots.

WITH regard to the two first, besides the Assistance of our English Voyagers, as Phillips, Atkins, Smith, and Snellgrave, we have been furnished with copious Materials from the Chevalier des Marchais and the Sieur d'Elbée, two French Authors, who now, for the first Time, appear in English. On this Occasion it may not be amiss to observe by the Way, that as our Method gives such an advantageous Change to the Relations of this Kind, as to make them appear new even to those who have read them often before, by stripping the Journals of all their Redundances, and forming a regular Description of Countries out of the scattered Remarks of several put together, our Collection must be no less acceptable to those who are already possessed of the Originals, whether in our own or a foreign Language, than those who have them not.

THE Coasts of Benin and Kalabar, as far down as Cape Lope Gonfalvo, have, for a long Time, been frequented by the English, as well as other Nations: But the inland Parts are not sufficiently known, to yield the Reader so satisfactory an Account of them, as we are able to give him of Kongo, which occurs next in our Course. This extensive Region, including under that Name, Loango, Angola, and Benguela, became famous, very early after the Revival of Navigation, by the Settlements and Conversions of the Portuguese; who having, at the Beginning, gained over the King, (induced more by political than religious Motives) and some of his Lords, to the Romish Faith, have ever since been as industrious to maintain the Credit of their spiritual as temporal Conquests. But although their Zeal hath not been attended with suitable Success, yet it hath been a Means of keeping-up a Succession of Priests in those Countries; who, in prosecuting the Design of their respective Missions, have had Opportunities of visiting several inland Provinces of them. Many of these Friars, on their Return to Europe, have published Relations of their Travels: The principal of which the Reader will find here inserted, according to our Method; and, consequently, followed by a far more compleat and regular Account of the Regions in Question than is to be met-with in any former Author.

AS touching the Hottentots, of whom so many different and romantic Stories have been propagated, we shall be able fully to satisfy the Curiosity of the Public by our Abstract of Kolben's Relation; which is so compleat, that he seems to have left nothing for future Travellers to add. We presume, the Reader will be both surprized and pleased with the agreeable Variety he finds in the Manners and Customs of these People; whom the Ignorance or Malice of most former Authors had represented as Creatures but one Degree removed from Beasts,

THE PREFACE.

and with scarce any Thing human about them except the Shape: Whereas, in Fact, they appear to be some of the most humane and virtuous (abating for a few Prejudices of Education) to be found among all the Race of Mankind.

TO Kolben's Narrative, illustrated by his curious Map of the Dutch Settlements at the Cape of Good Hope, we have annexed a Description of the Eastern Coast of Africa, from thence to Cape Guardafuy. But in regard, our Memoirs, with respect to this Part, are but very few and scanty, we quickly dispatch it; and then pass over to Asia. Here the Scene at once changes from sandy Deserts, to well-cultivated Plains; from Poverty and Want, to Wealth and Plenty; from miserable Villages and Huts, to magnificent Cities and Buildings; from People dwelling in a Kind of savage State, to Nations improved by all the Refinements of Policy and Arts.

SUCH is the Difference between Africa and Asia. The Contrast will be the more sensible, as our Method leads us to begin with China, the Country, most eminent not only in this Quarter, but the whole World; whether we regard the Advantages of its Soil and Situation, or the Beauty of its Manufactures, and Richness of its Commerce, the Industry and Ingenuity, or Civility of its Inhabitants, the Excellence of its Government, or the Grandeur of its Monarchs. Here the Reader will meet with every Thing that is splendid and noble; every Thing that can gratify the Pride and Luxury of Mankind. Here Art vies with Nature; and the most surprizing Wealth is mixed with the most surprizing Plenty. Civility and Politics are here cultivated to their utmost Perfection and Use. Here the Sovereign's whole Study is employed to gain the Hearts of his People; and here perfect Freedom exists under the most absolute Monarchy on Earth. In short, China may be called the terrestrial Paradise of the present World.

BUT not to anticipate the Reader's Curiosity, by a farther Detail, we shall only add, that now we have gotten into Asia, the Advantages of our Plan will appear much more conspicuously than they did before; in regard, Travels abound with more rich Materials than Voyages, as the Land affords a greater Variety of Objects for Remarks than the Sea. To render the Extracts more agreeable to the Generality of our Readers, we have, where we saw Occasion, separated those Matters which more immediately relate to the Roads and Distances from the rest of the Journal, and thrown them at the Bottom of the Page; where they lie more handy for the Geographer, whose Benefit we always have in View, than if they remained in the Text.

AS the Countries improve, so will the Cuts: The Charts and Maps will be more compleat and accurate; the Plans and Prospects of Places more curious and beautiful; the Figures of People will be heightened by the Variety and Elegance of their Dresses; and even those of Beasts, Birds, Trees, &c. will put-on more uncommon and amusing Forms.

NEXT to the Encouragement given this Undertaking, by a numerous Subscription, (which has kept-up notwithstanding the Calamity of the Times) we are pleased to find, that a Translation of it is going-forward at Paris, by Order of the Chancellor: This is mentioned not so much for the Honour with which the French have distinguished our Performance, but as it may serve to confirm the Opinion, that our Plan is not ill concerted; and that they judge the Work, from what hath already appeared of it, will be useful both to Geography and Navigation; which they wisely cultivate with the greatest Assiduity, as the Sciences, that of all others, conduce most to the Improvement of Trade.

LONDON, March 12,
1745-6.

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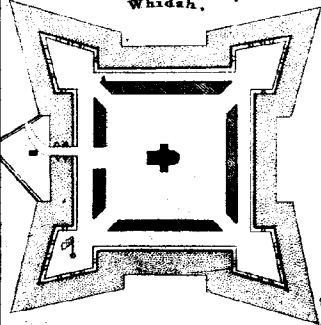
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French Fort at
Whidah.



A MAP
of the Kingdoms of
Koto, Popo, Fida, & Whidah.
and Ardra
being a Continuation
of the former
by M^d ANVILLE 1727

The Country to the East of the River Volta,
as far as Fida, or Whidah, is quite plain, with-
out any Hills, sandy naked & barren.
Contrary to what it is on y^e Western Side.

KINGDOM of ARDRA
*Destroyed by the King of Dahomey
Asem or Asem
the City of Great
Ardra ruined*

King^d of FIDA
or
WHIDAH
Aploga
R. Ebo
Grand Fere
Jakin
Offra
Loma
La Panga
Head of Jakin

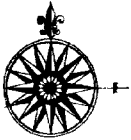
of POPO
Great
Popo
River Volta
River Chokid
up. not found
Little
Popo

River Volta so called by the Portuguese
on Account of its rapidity.

King^d of KOTO or LAMPI
Koto or Verhu
Cape de Monte
Cape St Paul

S L A V E
LAMPI
K. OF LADINGKUR
Baitrichu

Monte da
Raposa
Cape Montego
Rio da Volta



there is no entering the River
Volta by any sort of Vessels.

A New General COLLECTION of

VOYAGES and TRAVELS.

B O O K I.

VOYAGES and TRAVELS to GUINEA and BENIN.

CONTAINING

A DESCRIPTION of the Coasts from RIO DA VOLTA to
Cape LOPE GONSALVO.

C H A P. I.

The KINGDOMS of Koto and Popo.

SECT. I.

The KINGDOM of Koto.

Slave-Coast, Extent and Division. Kingdom of Koto: Its Extent. The Coast described. Monte da Reposa. Cape St. Paolo. Cape Monte. City of Koto, or Verhü. Soil and Produce. Trade. Natives: Their Character: Their Religion: Their Power.

THE Sea-faring Europeans, according to *Barbot*, extend the Slave-Coast from the Rio da Volta, where the Gold-Coast ends, to Rio Lagos in Benin*, where it loses its Name; the adjacent Coast being that of Great Benin, and beyond it the Coast of *Douwarre*, stretching Southward to Cape *Fornasa*, from thence to Rio del Rey, East; where, taking a Sweep, it proceeds South as far as Cape *Lope Gonsalvo*^b, beyond the Equator, and forms the Gulph, or *Bight*^c of Guinea: Thus extending in the Whole three hundred and fifty Leagues, in Shape of a

a Bow; all which, at least as far as the River of Koto *Gamarone*, in the Bottom of the Gulph, might well be accounted the Slave-Coast, as affording vast Numbers of Slaves, especially at Old and New Kalabar, and so on to Rio del Key. But in the Time of *Artus*, there was no Trade at the Rivers Volta, Ardra^d and Lay, except for a little Ivory, not worth the Trouble or Hazard of stopping for^e.

THE Europeans have Settlements but at three European b Places on this Coast. The first at *Quittah*, a Settlement. Factory belonging to the English African-Company, about fifteen Leagues to the Eastward of Lay, or *Allampo* on the Gold-Coast.

THE second Place is *Whidah*, where the English, French, and Dutch have Factories; and the two first, Forts: The English Fort is called *William*, and stands about twenty Leagues to the East of *Quittah*.

THE third Place is *Jakin*, an English Factory, about three Leagues to the Eastward of *Whidah*-Road; but at present withdrawn^f.

THE Slave-Coast comprehends the Coasts of *Dionfon*, Koto, Popo, Fida, (or *Whidah*) and *Ardra*.

* See before, p. 520.

Arda in the Original.

Company's Forts, &c. p. 30, & fig.

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N^o LXXX.

^b *Lope Gonsalvo* in the Original.

^c *Barbot*'s Description of Guinea, p. 319.

^d Some write, *Bite*.

^e Called Importance of the African.

Slave-
Coast.
Kingdom of
Koto.

THE Kingdom of *Koto*, according to *Bosman*, a is, by most People, called *The Land of Lampi*. The same Author, *Marchais*, and others, say, it begins East of the *Rio da Volta* : But *Barbot* will have its Commencement to be West of that River, and the Country of *Lampi* lying on both Sides thereof, may seem to favour this Opinion : But that Part of it to the West of the *Volta* is properly the Kingdom of *Ladingtúr*, as set forth in our Map.

In Extent.

KOTO extends from that River to Cape de Monte, on the Borders of *Popo* Kingdom, about sixteen or seventeen Leagues. *Barbot* reckons its Extent from where it begins, on the West-Side of the *Volta* to the Town of *Koto*, on *Verhá*, sixteen Leagues or better, and *Bosman* reckons fourteen Dutch Miles (or Leagues) from the *Volta* to the same Town, but does not say the Kingdom ends there.

The Coast de-
scribed.

THE Dutch lay-down the Coast from *Lay* to *Rio Volta* North-East, and North-East by East, about twelve Dutch Miles; but *Barbot* affirms it stretches East and by North, and sometimes East and by South, seventeen or eighteen Leagues. This Knowledge he acquired by the Opportunity he had of sailing along this Coast in a Yacht, in six and seven Fathom not far from Shore, where they saw Fires all along from *Lay* to *Rio Volta*, it being the Seed-Time.

Monte da
Raposa.

THE Coast from the East Point of *Rio Volta* to Cape Monte, or *Monte da Raposa*, runs East-South-East almost four Leagues; the Village here being seated on the Sea-Shore about a League and an half West of the Mount, and has for a Mark a thick, large, and lofty Wood on the North-East of it. The Sand of the Sounding there is as fine as Dust.

Cape St.
Paulo.

FROM Cape Monte East, the Coast forms a great Bulging of ten Leagues to Cape St. Paulo, near which stands the Village *Quila*, known from Sea by a small Thicket or Wood, over which three Palm-Trees rise. The Sounding there is extremely fine Sand, and on the Shore great swelling Waves, which hinder the Natives coming-off in their Canoes. The Shore of the Bulging appears broken through in many Parts, and the Land within marshy and watery, as it is all along from *Rio Volta* hither, seeming to be a large continued Lake; from whence, about the Middle of it, gushes a little River, which does not flow into the Sea, but is discernible by the

a Trees standing on the East-Side of it, and by several small Islands in the Lake. *Koto. Geography.*

THE *Koto*-Coast, from Cape Paulo to Cape Monte, runs East North-East, the Land low, flat, level, and open, having at best a few Shrubs. Near this Cape appears a Separation in the Shore, as of a River; one Side of which is low and open, the other is a rising Ground, with many round Huts or Houses standing near the Strand : But no Canoes ever come-off, the Natives having little or no Commerce with Europeans. The Village *Bequo* is not far from hence.

THE Town or Village of *Koto* or *Verhá* above-mentioned, was formerly the Residence of the King of *Koto*, where *Bosman* saw and spoke with him, June 1698. According to *Marchais*, it was the royal Seat in 1725. *Cape of Koto; or Verhá.*

THE Land of *Koto* is in Nature quite contrary to that of the Gold-Coast : For as the latter is full of Hills, so the former has none at all; but the Soil is very flat, sandy, dry, barren, and void of all Trees, except the Palm or wild Cocoa, of which it produces a great Number. *Soil and Produce.*

THIS Land is tolerably provided with Cattle, at least as many as are sufficient to supply its Inhabitants.

RIVER-FISH is not wanting here, but they can get none out of the Sea, by reason of the violent Burnings (or Surges) which extend from this Place to *Arára*, and farther along the Coast.

THEIR Trade is that of Slaves, of which they are able sometimes to deliver a good Number, but never enough to load a Ship. These they chiefly steal from the inland Country, and sell them mostly to the Portuguese, who frequent this Coast more than any other European Nation : But as this Commerce is uncertain, in some Years there are no Slaves to be had, the Europeans having no Settlement here.

BOSMAN found the Inhabitants here very good-natured, and received several Civilities from them : Especially on telling the King, that he designed to return from *Woidah* by Land, he offered to come himself with his whole Force to receive him on the Borders of his Territories, and to conduct him beyond *Rio da Volta*, in order to secure him from the strolling Robbers : But those of *Little Popo*, who had also promised to conduct him through the Extent of their Land, dissuaded him from it by their Ambassadors, under Pretence, that they were afraid he might be

* *Bosman's* Description of the Gold-Coast, p. 329. the same. *Marchais*, or *Labat*, who seems to copy,

between Leagues. *Bosman*, as before.

Monte. *Barbot*, as before, p. 321.

Bosman, as before, p. 330; *Barbot*, as before; and *Marchais's Voy. en Guinée*, vol. 2. p. 4. If *Koto* be *Quitab* before-mentioned, (as it may be from the Distance and Affinity of Names) there is an English Settlement there : Or, perhaps, *Quila* is misprinted for *Quita* or *Quitta*. *According to Marchais*, the Europeans, who have traded here, speak well of their Manners, though they advise by no Means to trust them too far.

Barbot's Description of Guinea, p. 321.

as well as *Barbot*, from *Bosman*, says, thirteen or fourteen Leagues.

Here *Barbot* makes this Kingdom to extend to Cape

Marchais says, they have scarce enough for the Inhabitants.

Marchais's Voy. en Guinée, vol. 2. p. 4. there is an English Settlement there : Or, perhaps, *Quila* is misprinted for *Quita* or *Quitta*.

Slave-
Coast. set-on by the Robbers before they came to him. a

As this Dissuasive was very faint, and the Ambassador privately encouraged him to this Land-Tour, it plainly discovered their Villany, which was a Design to murder him on the Way, and steal all his Goods: And thus he lost an Opportunity of seeing some Things in the Country worth Notice.

Their Beh-
E^{ss}. In Politics, Religion, and Economy, the Inhabitants of Koto nearly resemble those on the Gold-Coast, only here the Author found a vast Quantity of *Fetiches*; in which, according to *Marchais*, almost all their Wealth consists, a Negro here being very poor, who has not a Dozen at least. Their Houses, Highways, Paths, and Fields, are crowded with Idols; but, says the Author, they are neither richer, happier, nor better for it. Their Language is mostly that of *Aktra*, with little Alteration. Their Traffic being small, they are very poor, few rich among them. Their most profitable Trade is stealing Men Inland, whom they sell to the *Europeans*. This is the best Part of their Subsistence, and all *Bosman* had to say of them.

Their Power. THE Kingdom is very inconsiderable in Strength, which yet abates daily by its Wars with *Popo*, that have continued for some Years past. These two Kingdoms being nearly matched, nothing but a Peace or a Victory, by Help of auxiliary Troops, is likely to end their Dispute. But *Aquambe*, whose Interest it is to keep-up the Contest, takes Care that neither shall be destroyed, by lending Assistance to the weakest-Side. When *Aquambe* was governed by two Chiefs, as before-mentioned, the old King supported *Popo*, and the young King *Koto*. The People of *Little Popo*, in 1700, falling upon those of *Koto* by Surprise, obliged them to quit the Country: But *Bosman* was of Opinion, that the *Aquambe*s would soon restate them, and clap a Bridle into the Mouth of the Invaders.

MARCHAIS says, the King of *Koto* would have been entirely conquered, if he of *Abrampour* had not succoured him with auxiliary Troops, rather out of Policy than Friendship. He adds, that, as this last King's Country is rich in Gold Mines, so he equally dreads the Kings of *Koto* and *Popo*; and endeavours to keep the Balance even by fomenting their Quarrel, and underhand supporting the weakest, according to their different Successes.

SECT. II.

KINGDOM of Popo.

1. Little Popo.

Extent and Coast. Soil. Chief Town. King Af-
forri: Reducer OFIA: Slain in Koto. The In-
habitants, given to Fraud.

THE Country of *Popo*, or *Papaw*, as some write it, extends from Cape de Monte to the Borders of *Whidah* about ten Leagues. It may be divided into the Kingdoms of *Great* and *Little Popo*, the latter lying to the West of the former.

ACCORDING to *Barbot*, from Cape Monte, in the Country of *Koto*, to *Little Popo* the Coast extends North-East about five Leagues, all flat Land, very sandy and barren, with only a few Shrubs here and there. *Little Popo* is a small Country, bearing the Title of a Kingdom, situated between *Koto* and *Great Popo*, on the Sea-Side, its Extent Inland unknown.

FROM *Koto* to *Little Popo* is about ten Miles, the Country being, as the former, flat Land, without either Hills or Trees, and extraordinary sandy; infomuch, that all Victuals there dressed are not eatable for Sand. This *Bosman* found by Experience, for he was not able to eat the Victuals sent him by the King, but was forced to have his Provisions from on board. This Sand renders the Country so barren, that the Inhabitants are forced to be victualled, for the most Part, from *Whidah*. They are incredible plagued with Rats.

THE Town of *Little Popo* is seated on the Shore, four Leagues West of *Great Popo*, near a small River, or Creek.

THE Inhabitants here are the Remains of the Kingdom of *Aktra*, behind the Dutch Fort there, whence they were formerly driven by the King of *Aquambe*: Nor is it probable that they will ever return to the Possession of their Country.

THEY are not numerous, but very warlike. *Aforri*, Brother to the King, in 1700, and who reigned before him, was a brave Prince, who, on account of his Valour, was very much feared and respected: But the greatest Fame he got, was when the *Fidalgo* of *Ofra* rebelled against

* In the Original, *Idol Gods*.

Voyage, vol. 2. p. 4.

Author calls, what others write *Abrambe*.

Description of *Guinea*, p. 320.

fama.

According to our Map, it lies at the West-Side of the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*, which crosses the Kingdoms of *Aktra* and *Whidah*.

In the Original, *Phidalgo*. It is a Portuguese Word, signifying a Gentleman; and shews how much the Portuguese Influence has prevailed in these Parts.

is a Town and District near *Jahin*.

Bosman's Description of *Guinea*, p. 330, & seq.

Bosman, as before, p. 331.

The same, p. 329, & seq.

Marchais, as before, p. 3, & seq.

Barbot's Description of *Guinea*, p. 320.

Bosman, as before, p. 332, and 335; and *Barbot*, as before.

The

In the Original, *Phidalgo*. It is a Portuguese Word, signifying a Gentleman; and shews how much the Portuguese Influence has prevailed in these Parts.

is a Town and District near *Jahin*.

Slave-
Coast.
the King of *Great Ardra*, whose Yolk he shook-
off, and, besides, killed the Dutch chief Factor
Hohwerf.

Reduta
Offica

To revenge these Crimes, the King of *Ardra* having prevailed with King *Afforri* to go against him with all his Force, he conquered those of *Offra* as soon as he saw them, waited their Country, and delivered the Offender into his Sovereign's Hand. Not content with this Victory, and pushed-on by those of *Ardra*, he marched against the People of *Whidab*, and encamped in their Country, waiting for Powder from the King of *Ardra*, who sent him a large Quantity, according to his Promise, under a good Convoy: But the *Whidabs* getting Intelligence of it, with a very strong Party fell-upon and defeated the Convoy, and seized the Powder; whereupon *Afforri*, finding himself unable to cope with his Enemy, made a speedy and seasonable Retreat: For those of *Whidab* intended to have attacked him with their whole Force next Day. However, they were not inclined to pursue him, but glad to be rid of such a dangerous Foe.

Main in
Koto.

AFORRI, at his Return, being informed, that his Neighbours of *Koto* would have assisted *Whidab*, if he had staid any longer in that Country, he so highly resented it, that, with the utmost Animosity, he took the Field, and attacked them, though stronger than himself: But they received him so warmly, that they killed a great Part of his Army; upon which, growing desperate, he rushed among the thickest of them, where, with several of his Men, he fell, after selling their Lives as dear as they could. The present King, though more mild and peaceable, yet prudently revenged his Brother's Death on those of *Koto*, always attacking them when-weakest, by which Means he drove them out of the Country.

The Inha-
bitants.

THE same Author says, that the People of *Little Pops* depend mostly on Plunder and the Slave-Trade, in both which they exceed those of *Koto*: For being endowed with a much larger Share of Courage, they rob more successfully, although to freight a Ship with Slaves, requires some Months Attendance. In 1697, the Author could get only three Slaves here in three Days Time, but they promised him two hundred in three Days more; which not caring to trust to, he sailed to *Whidab*. There he learned, that they had succeeded so well in their Incursions, as to bring-down above two hundred; which, for want of other Ships, they were obliged to sell to the *Portuguese*.

THIS Nation exceeds others in Fraud and Thievery. They will tell you, they have a Stock of Slaves only to draw you on Shore, where they take Care not only to fleece you, but detain you several Months. The *Portuguese* are cheated by them more than any Nation; but they trade with them, because scarce any Country besides will take their sorry Goods.

Graphy.
Given to
Fraud,

In 1698, *Bosman* found a *Danish* Ship there, which had waited longer for five hundred Slaves, than he had done in buying two thousand at *Whidab*; during which Time they met with so much Villany from the People, that he believes no *Dane* will ever come there more. A Year or two before this, they dealt in the same Manner with an *English* Ship, and besides cheated the Captain of some Goods; but coming thither again in the Author's Time, he recovered his Damages in the following Manner: As soon as he had dropped Anchor before *Pops*, some of the great Men, among whom was the King's Son, came on board him, all which he clapped in the Bilboas; whence he did not discharge them, till he was reimbursed, and a farther Sum likewise paid by Way of Penalty.

In this King's Brother's Reign this Nation was more easily dealt with; for when he had done his Business, he would suffer his Subjects to impose on the *Europeans*. In his Time one of the *Dutch* Company's Ships dealt, in eleven Days, for above five hundred Slaves: But that is not likely to happen again: For they are at present such Rogues, that they infallibly cheat every body who has any thing to do with them.

It is needless to dwell longer on the Nature and Customs of these People, since, being originally Inhabitants of *Aktra*, in Religion and Government, they do not much differ from their Countrymen.

2. Great Pops.

The Soil, Coast dangerous. The Town. Few Inhabitants: Once subject to *Ardra*. Thrown-off the Yolk. Present King. Trade of Great Pops: The Inhabitants: Factories.

THE Kingdom of *Great Pops* is contiguous with that of *Little Pops* on the East. The inland Country abounds in sundry Fruits and Roots, Cattle and Poultry. Near the Shore the Land is swampy and marshy, as hath been observed before, and consequently flat and low.

* *Marchais* (or *Labat*) relates the same History, doubtless taken from *Bosman*, but makes *Afforri* King of *Koto*; and in Consequence of that Error or Alteration puts *Koto* here instead of *Pops*. See *Marchais's Voy. en Guinée*, vol. 2. p. 6, & seq. * *Bosman's Description of Guinea*, p. 332. * *Barbot's Description*

Slave-
Coast.
Coast down-
river.

THIS Coast is almost inaccessible, the Sea beating here so violently, for the greater Part of the Year, that no Canoes dare approach it^a.

FROM the Port of *Little Pops* to that of *Great Pops*, or *Pepoh*, East, is about five Leagues. This Place is easily known, coming from the West, by two Flags constantly displayed there at the Beach on either Side the River *Tari* (or *Torri*;) That on the East Point is the *Dutch* Flag, that Nation having a Lodge there. The other is a white Flag, which the Natives set-up b on the West Point of the River, when they see Ships coming from the West.

The Town.

THE Town of *Pops* stands in an Island near the Mouth of the *Tari*, formed by Marshes and Bogs; for which Reason, the *Portuguese* call it *Terra Alagada*, that is, *Drowned Land*; and others, *Terra Gazelha*. The Town is divided into three Parts, each distinct from the other. The Entry of the *Tari*, or, as the *Portuguese* call it, *Rio de Poupou*, is choaked with a Bar, c easily passed by Bar-Canoes. The Houses are built in the same Form as those at *Cape de Verde*^b.

MARCHAIS says, the Strength of this Village (which is reckoned ten Leagues from *Koto*) lies in its Situation, being built on an Island, at the Mouth of a large River of the same Name. He adds, that it is the only Place in the Kingdom that deserves the Name of a Village, the rest being only small Hamlets of ten or twelve Houses, whose Inhabitants retire to *Pops*, the d King's Residence, on the least Alarm^c.

From Inhabitant.

King's Palace.

HIS House, or Palace, is very large, consisting of Abundance of small Huts round his Apartment; which is the remotest Part of all the Buildings, disposed in such a Manner, that, to come at it, you must pass through three Courts, each having a Guard of Soldiers. In the farthest-most of these, are the King's Lodgings, adorned with a Pavilion, which serves the King to converse with the principal Men of the Nation and his own Officers; but he always eats by himself.

THIS Prince has many handsome Women, two of whom stand always by him, with Fans in their Hands, to cool him. He spends the best Part of the Day in smoking Tobacco, and talking either with his own Wives, or with his Officers, or other notable Persons of the Country. His Wives are maintainable in the Palace, with Variety of Victuals^d.

ACCORDING to *Bosman*, the People of *Great Pops* have scarce any Dwelling besides the King's Village, or Island; which is so thinly peopled,

and so much infested by the *Whidabs*, that they cannot till the Land in Quiet: Wherefore they very often want Provisions, and would be starved unless furnished by their Enemies themselves, who yet, for the Sake of Lucre, risk their Lives in this illicit Trade^e.

If we may credit *Barbot*, this Country is not so destitute of fixed Habitations. That Author observes, that the Village of *Koulain-ba*, with some other Hamlets and Cottages, are seated on the Banks of the *Tari* (or *Torri*;) which, descending from the *Ardra* Country, passes through *Whidab* to the Ocean, all along within the Land, at only a Quarter of a Mile Distance from the Coast, but so shallow, that it is fordable every where; and, by its overflowing the flat Banks, forms the Morasses that appear for several Leagues together, extending within the Shore from *Great Pops* to the Country of *Tari* (or *Torri*) through the Land of *Whidab*.

ABOVE *Koulain-ba* is the Town of *Jackain*^f, *Jackain*, on the Banks of another River, which, as it extends into the Country of *Ardra*, grows more and more shallow, till, at last, it is quite dry, as if it were lost in the Sands. All the above-named Villages, which belong properly to *Whidab*, are not easily perceived from Sea, but from the Top-Masts of Ships, when sailing near the Shore^g.

SOME Travellers suppose, that the State of *Pops* was formerly so powerful, that *Whidab* was tributary to it: But this is a Mistake; for *Whidab*, *Pops*, and *Koto* are Kingdoms dismembered from that of *Ardra*, with which they are often at War, but oftner among themselves, with such various Success, that they only weaken one another. And *Pops* in particular owes its Preservation to nothing but the advantageous Situation of its chief Town^h; which being in an Island, surrounded by a River, the *Whidab* Blacks are forced to make use of Floats to come at it; so that the *Pops* People often repulse them with Lossⁱ.

THIS petty Kingdom of *Great Pops*, (by the *Portuguese* called *os Poupas*) was formerly subject to the King of *Ardra*, as well as of *Whidab*. This latter, to whom it was first in Subjection, having set the present King upon the Throne, in Room of his Brother, whom he had banished; he, in Return for that Monarch's Favours, threw-off his Dependence. Hereupon the King of *Whidab* sent a great Army against them; and being assisted with Men and Ammunition by some French Ships, then lying before *Whidab*, thought

^a *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 1. p. 6.
^b *Barbot*, as before, vol. 1. p. 5, & seq.
^c *Guinea*, p. 336.

^d This seems to be the same with *Jakin*, or *Joguin*, by the Name, but its Situation is different: However, this Author, who collects from others, is far from being exact.

^e *Barbot*, as before.

^f *Marchais*, as before, vol. 2. p. 7.

^g *Barbot*, as before, p. 323.

^h *Bosman's Description* of *Ardra*.

ⁱ *Barbot*, as before.

Slave-
Coast

of nothing less than utter Extirpation, especially as the French Ships failed to fall upon them by Sea. But *Popo* being an Island situate in the Mouth of a River, could not be come-at without Floats; and the People gave their Enemy so warm a Reception, that, after a smart Dispute, they put them to Flight, without the Loss of one Man: For as they fled very briskly out of their Houses, unperceived by the Enemy, they killed a great Number of French and *Whidahs*; and so disordered their Forces, that throwing-down their Arms, they ran over one another for Haste to get away; but had the *Popo*-Men followed their Advantage, not a Frenchman would have escaped, since they are not so swift as the Negroes. After this Misfortune, the King of *Whidah* did not think fit to venture again with his own Forces, but continually hired other Nations into the Quarrel, which cost him large Sums; till finding himself cheated by them, he was obliged to endure the King of *Popo*'s quiet Possession of the Island.

Presumptive King

THE present King of *Popo* is a tall, well-shaped Man, having something in his Mien above the common Blacks. He is generally dressed in a long Gown of Brocade, an Oiler Cap on his Head, and is much respected by his People. In 1682, he maintained a War against the Blacks of *Monte*, or *Koto*, and those of *Whidah*; but was forced to make a separate Peace with the latter, to avoid being subdued by their joint Forces. Soon after he joined in League with the King of *Whidah* to attack those of *Keto*.

Trade of
Great Popo

THE Natives of Great *Popo* trade in Slaves, which, if no Ships come thither, they sell to Little *Popo*; but their greatest Gain is by Fish caught in their River, and sold abroad.

WHEN this Place depended on *Ardra*, it had but a small Trade with the Europeans; the King of *Ardra* obliging them to carry thither all the Slaves they got, in order to receive his Toll. This, probably, induced the *Popo*-Blacks to revolt, in order to preserve themselves free and independent, by which Means they have drawn a good Trade to *Popo* ever since; so that, sometimes, they can make-up a large Cargo of Slaves, in a few Days, in Exchange for Kou-

Goods. Iron, Bugles, Linen, and other European Goods.

Papo
Guns, opium
Inhabitants

THE Blacks of Great *Popo* resemble those of Little *Popo* and *Koto*: For, being Robbers and Thieves by Profession, they live mostly on Plunder; and, when they get drunk, they steal from Friend and Foe. This Disposition has prevented any Nation but the Dutch, from settling a Factory at *Popo*; and also brought them to use the Method practised at *Whidah* and *Ardra*, of having the King to adjust all Differences arising between them and his Subjects, and to engage to make good the Debts due to them. But Trade declining upon the Quarrels between them and *Whidah*, after the Death of their Factor, as *Bozman* informs us, they left it, and, since that Time, have not traded with them. Since then, the French, for Sake of the Slave-Trade, settled a small Factory at *Popo*, with two Agents and some Negroes, who are subordinate to the Director General at *Whidah*, from whom they receive Goods, and remit their Slaves. This Trade is carried on by Land, with all the Precautions necessary against being robbed by the Way; so that the usual Method of Trading, is to oblige the Sellers to convey the Buyers and their Wares from *Popo* to the Frontiers of *Whidah*, where they and their Goods are in entire Safety.

THE *Popo* Negroes, like all other Blacks, have great Faith in their Priests, called *Domine*. They go commonly dressed in a long white Frock, always carrying a Staff, crooked at each End. Every trading Ship must pay the *Domine* a certain Toll, by Way of free Gift, which encourages the Blacks to dispatch the Europeans as quick as possible; conceiving that the Priests, being so well paid, will use all their Interest with the Deities of the Sea, to favour them with Calms and good Weather, for carrying Goods and Slaves safely to and from the Ships. They have a Priest also standing by at the Beach, who throws Sand over their Heads, that their Deities may preserve the Canoes from being overlet in passing the Bar.

THIS *Popo* is the first Place which can properly be reckoned in the Country of *Ardra*. The *Ardra* Language, with very little Alteration, is here spoken: The Government, also, is on the same Foot.

* *Bozman's Description of Guinea*, p. 335, & seq.

† *Bozman*, as before, p. 337.

Original, *Juda*.

‡ *Barbot*, as before.

§ *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 6.

¶ *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 323.

• *Bozman*, as before.

‡ *Barbot*, p. 323.

† *Bozman*, as before.

The Names of Provinces, p. 8.
do not exactly tally with those in this
Map, we are they all to be found here.

A Map of the Kingdom of Whidah, from 1781.



C H A P. II.

The KINGDOM of Whidah.

S E C T. I.

Slave-
Coast.

Whidah, its Names: Extent: Bounds. Rivers Jakin and Euphrates. Face of the Land. Fine Prospects at Land and from Sea. The Soil, and its Fertility. Provinces: Full of Villages. Road of Whidah: Landing dangerous: Directions for anchoring and going ashore. Bar along the Coast: What it is: How passed by Canoes. The Rowers, how placed: Careful of Passengers; but pillage Goods.

Whidah,
Name.

MARCHEAIS observes, that this Country is named *Whidah*, by the *English*, *Portuguese*, and *Natives*; by the *Dutch*, *Fida*; and *Jada* by the *French*^b. *Phillips* says, it is called *Whidah*, or *Quedah*, a Name not differing much from *Quittah*, before-mentioned, where the *English* have a Factory. It must, likewise, be observed, that *Whidah* has a different Orthography in different Authors: Thus *Phillips* and *Smallgrave* write *Whidaw*; *Atkins* and *Smith*, *Whidah*; the *French*, *Quidah*.

Extent.

BOSMAN, who lived at *Whidah* three Months, used all possible Means to discover the Length and Breadth of this Kingdom, but could only learn, that it stretches along Shore about nine or ten Leagues, and in the Middle reaches six or seven inland; after which, it extends like two Arms, being in some Places ten or twelve Leagues broad, in others much narrower^c.

Bounds.

MARCHEAIS says, *Whidah* passes five or six Leagues from the Village of *Popo*, extending fifteen or sixteen Leagues along the Coast; and that its Breadth, inland, is but eight or nine Leagues. He adds, that it lies in six Degrees, twenty Minutes^d of North Latitude, being bounded on the North-West by the Kingdom of *Popo*^e, and to the South-East, by that of *Ardra*^f.

According to some, the Kingdom of *Fida*, or *Whidah*, is scarce sixteen Leagues in Compais; others will have its Extent along the Shore, to be about ten Leagues, including the Land of *Torri*^g.

SOME Authors represent *Whidah*, as Part of the Kingdom of *Ardra*, which they extend from

a the Frontier of *Benin* East, to *Great Popo* on the West; but this is a Mistake: For the Kingdoms of *Whidah* and *Torri* are between *Popo* and *Ardra*; whereas that of *Whidah* borders West, on *Great Popo*, and extends along the Shore to East of *Torri*, East, being about four Leagues and an half distance^h.

Whidah
Kingdom.

FROM *Popo Grand*, to the Port of *Whidah*, the Coast extends about five Leagues East North-East; the little Town of *Ooy*, or *Ouy*, (*Wi*) lying between both Places on the Strand, about a Quarter of a League East of a little River that falls into the Sea. The Coast, all along, is inaccessible, by Reason of the mighty Surfⁱ.

THIS Country is watered but by two Streams, which deserve the Name of Rivers, both descending from the Kingdom of *Ardra*. The Southernmost, which runs within a League and an half of the Sea, is called the River of *Jakin*, from a Town, in the Kingdom of *Ardra*, of that Name. The Water is yellow, and only navigable for Boats; there being Fords in several Places, which have but three Foot Water, and often less.

River Ja-
kin

THE second is called the River *Euphrates*. It And Fow
washes the Town of *Ardra*, and runs about a League to the South of *Xavier*, or *Sabie*, the Capital of *Whidah*. It is broader and deeper than the former: The Water is excellent, and the Stream would be navigable, if it were not for the Banks and Shoals in the Channel. The Kings of *Whidah* have long since settled a Sort of Custom-Houses at these Fords, or Ferries, where all Passengers are obliged to pay two *Bujis*, or *Kouris*. None are exempted from this Duty, neither the *Grande*es of the Country, nor the *Europeans*^k.

Face of the
Land.

TOWARDS the Sea-shore it is very marshy, and has divers large Swamps^l. The Land from the Sea Coast, for about a League beyond the *Euphrates*, is entirely level, without any Rising or Eminence. It is a Plain about fifteen Leagues long and three broad. Beyond this the Country rises insensibly, for about six or seven Leagues, when you find yourself at the Foot of a Chain of high Mountains, which bound this Kingdom.

^a *Barbot*, p. 327, says, they call it *Juida*.
^b *Phillips*, p. 214, puts it six Degrees, ten Minutes; seeming to mean the Road of *Whidah*.

^c *Barbot*, as before, p. 327.

^d *Barbot*, as before, p. 327.
^e *Barbot*, as before, p. 327.

^f *Barbot*, as before, p. 327.

^g *Barbot*, as before, p. 327.

^h *Barbot*, as before, p. 327.

ⁱ *Barbot*, p. 327.

^j *Barbot*, p. 327.

^k *Barbot*, p. 327.

^l *Barbot*, p. 327.

^m *Barbot*, p. 327.

ⁿ *Barbot*, p. 327.

^o *Barbot*, p. 327.

^p *Barbot*, p. 327.

^q *Barbot*, p. 327.

^r *Barbot*, p. 327.

VOYAGES and TRAVELS

Slave-
Coast.

to the North-East; separating it from the States ^a on that Side, especially *Ardra*, which surrounds the Kingdoms of *Whidah*, *Pepo*, and *Koto*, as far as *Rio da Volta*: So that its Extent is considerable from East to West ^a.

Four P. of Sea

All who have seen it allow it to be one of the most delightful Countries in the World. The Number and Variety of tall, beautiful, shady Trees, which seem as if planted in Groves for Ornament, being without Underwood, or Weeds, as in other Parts of *Guinea*. The verdant Fields ^b every where cultivated, and only divided by those Groves, or in some Places by a small Foot Path, together with the innumerable, little, agreeable Villages, encompassed by low, mud Walls, and regularly scattered over the whole Country, contribute to yield the most delightful Prospect Inagination can form ^b. There is neither Mountain nor Hill to stop the View, the whole Country being an easy and almost imperceptible Ascent for forty or fifty Miles from the Sea: So that from all Parts you have a Prospect of the Ocean, and the farther you go from it, the more beautiful and populous you find the Country: So that it resembles the *Elysian Fields*; though it yields no Gold, but what is brought from *Brazil* by the *Portuguese*, to purchase Slaves ^c.

At Land,

PHILLIPS says, *Whidah* is the most delightful Country he had seen in *Guinea*, consisting of Champaigns and small ascending Hills; beautified with always-green, shady Groves of Lime, wild Orange, and other Trees, and irrigated with divers broad, fresh Rivers, which yield Plenty of good Fish ^d.

And from
Sea.

To those who come from Sea, this Country, at landing, presents a most agreeable Prospect, interspersed with little Groves of tall Trees, with smaller Copies of Bananas and Fig-Trees; through which you see the Tops of innumerable Villages, whose Houses rising in Canes, and covered with Straw, form a delightful Landskip of ^c this vast Plain ^e.

Seal and

THIS Land is covered with a beautiful Verdure, either of Grass or Trees, and Plenty of three Sorts of Corn, Beans, Potatos, and other Fruits, which grow so close, that in some Places there is only a bare Foot-Path left untilld: For the Negroes here are so indolent, that no Spot of Land, but what is naturally barren, escapes planting, though even within the Inclosures of their Villages and Houses; nay, they are so covetous on this Article, that the very next Day after reaping, they sow again, giving the Land no Rest at all ^f.

Whidah
Kingdom.
Fertility.

ACCORDING to *Marchais*, the Soil is so fruitful, that as soon as one Harvest is over, the Ground is sowed with some other Grain; so that they have two or three Crops a Year. The Pease succeed the Rice; the Millet follows this; the Maiz or *Turkey-Corn* is planted next; Potatos and Ignames succeed the Maiz. The Borders of the Hedges, the Sides of Ditches, and the Foot of their Inclosures, are planted with Melons of different Kinds, besides Pulse; so that not an Inch of Ground lies unimproved, and that without any Interruption. They manage their Grounds so, that all their High-ways are only Paths, and they know not what it is to let the Land lie idle. They plough the Ground in Ridges, those of the King's Lands being more elevated than the others; by which Means the Dews falling in the Hollows, and the Sun heating the Sides, whatever is planted, shoots quickly, and comes sooner to Perfection, than if sowed on a Flat ^g.

THIS Kingdom, small as it is, is divided into *Provinces*, twenty-six *Provinces* or Governments, (denominated from their chief Towns) which are given to the Grandees of the Country, and hereditary in their Families. The King is at the Head of these, and has the Government of the Province of *Xavier*, so called from the Capital of the Kingdom.

Names of Provinces and chief Towns.	Governors.
1. <i>Xavier</i> (or <i>Sabié</i>)	The King.
2. <i>Xavier Gaga</i>	whose Govern- } Prince, and nor is styled } Viceroy.
3. <i>Bati</i>	The High Priest.
4. <i>Aplaga</i>	A Prince.
5. <i>Niapon</i>	A Prince.
6. <i>Xavier Zante</i>	A Prince.
7. <i>Gregoué Zante</i>	A Governor.
8. <i>Ainga</i>	A Governor.
9. <i>Gourga</i>	A Governor.
10. <i>Dohée</i>	A Governor.
11. <i>Abingato</i>	A Governor.
12. <i>Karié</i>	A Governor.
13. <i>Agou</i>	Interpreter and Governor.
14. <i>Afou</i>	A Prince.
15. <i>Wassaga</i>	A Governor.
16. <i>Pagne</i>	First Valet de Chambre and Governor.
17. <i>Walanga</i>	A Governor.
18. <i>Danio</i>	A Governor.
19. <i>Zingha</i>	A Governor.

^a *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 14.

^b *Bozman* does not believe the World affords the like besides.

^c *Bozman's Description of Guinea*, p. 339; and *Maribati*, as before, p. 194, & seq.

^d *Phillips*, as before, p. 214.

^e *Marchais*, as before, p. 16.

^f *Bozman*, as before.

^g *Marchais*, as before, p. 13, & seq.

- Slaves Coast.
- 20. Koulofoute
 - 21. Zega
 - 22. Hamar
 - 23. Kouagonga
 - 24. Agrikouquus
 - 25. Ghiaga
 - 26. Babo

- A Governor.
- A Governor.
- Captain and Governor
- Captain of the King's Musketeers
- Drum Major.
- Hangman and Governor.
- The King's Unkles.

Slaves, there were five Men lost, viz. a Portuguese Captain, a Clerk, and three English Sailors; likewise two Captains, who were brought ashore, died there presently. This Port, at several Times, had cost the Author, or rather the Dutch Company, two hundred Pounds, and doubtless must have been more expensive to the English and others, who have not so good Rowers.

At this Time of the Year there is also a strong Eastern Tide, so that Boats or Shallops are pushed along by a Pole stuck in the Ground: However, as soon as you land, you seem to have passed from Hell to Heaven, there being very beautiful Meadow-Ground about half a Mile off.

MARCHAIS says, that the Landing here is the more difficult, as it is an open Road, without any Land-Mark, unless it be the Tufts of high Trees on a low Land, at the Corner of the tallest of which, in clear Weather, you may see the Flag on one of the Bastions of the French Fort (at Gregoué.) That Author adds, that the best Direction is the Vessels moored in the Road, (there seldom wanting Shipping here,) who generally ride opposite the great Tuft of Trees, a League from Shore, in twelve Fathom clay Ground. They moor East and West, and generally the Ships of each Nation anchor near each other, in order to be mutually assistant in case of Need.

To the East of the Grove, according to Barbot, there is a little House on the Beach, near which is set-up a Pole for Flag-Staff; and near the House are usually several Canoes set dry. Having brought this Pole to bear North, he advises to cast Anchor, as being the best Ground; for somewhat farther East are Abundance of Stones under Water, which will spoil and cut the Cables.

The French Ships bound to this Port commonly fire a Gun, when they come about three Leagues East of Pops, as a Signal to the French Factor, residing at Whidah, of their Approach, and the said Factor sends immediately some Servant to the Shore to hoist the French Flag. The English Factor does the same when Ships of that Nation appear, the Staff being common to them as it happens.

As soon as ever a Ship is anchored in the Road of Whidah, the Negroes come-off with Fish and Fruits, knowing they will be well paid, and get Brandy besides, for which they would run all Hazards. By these Canoes the Captains generally write to the respective Directors of their Nations, to acquaint them with their Arrival. The Chevalier des Marchais having regulated the

Each of these twenty-six Villages has several smaller Villages, or Hamlets, which are subordinate to it; and although the Bounds of the Kingdom are small, and consequently the Provinces proportionably little, yet the Country is so populous and full of Hamlets, that the whole Kingdom seems to be one Town, divided into so many Quarters, and separated only by cultivated Lands, which appear like Gardens.

BOSMAN says, it is so populous, that in any of the King's, or Vice-Roy's Villages, there are as many People as in a common Kingdom on the Gold-Coast. He adds, that it is well furnished with these large Villages, besides innumerable small ones throughout the whole Country, some not above a Musket-Shot from each other; because those who live out of the great Villages, or Towns, build and settle where they please: So that each Family builds a small Village, which encreases as that multiplies.

EUROPEANS are but little acquainted with the inland Parts of Whidah, their Knowledge of the Country being almost wholly confined to the Road, which lies between the Port of Whidah and the capital Town.

The Port or Road, where the Ships ride, is very good clean Ground, and gradual Soundings: The best Anchoring is in eight Fathom Water, against a great Tuft of Trees, that appear like a Barn, about a Mile and an half off Shore, on which there runs such a prodigious Swell and Surf, that it is very dangerous Landing. Bosman observes, that on account of the horrible Burnings (Surf or Swell) there is no landing without great Risk: But in April, May, and July, he ought (as the Proverb says) to have two Lives who ventures; for the Sea Burning is so violent, and the Waves roll with such Fury, that a Canoe is overset and shattered in Pieces in a Minute; in which Case the Cargo and People are all in Danger to be lost, except the Rowers, who by swimming may, perhaps, save themselves; and this happens every Day.

When the Author was here in 1698, besides

Murchison's Voyage, p. 11. & seq. Bosman's Description of Guinea, p. 339. Barbot says, it is called by the French, le Praye. This must be from the Portuguese, la Praya, which signifies the Strand, or Landing-Place. Phillips's Voyage, p. 228. Bosman, as before, p. 337, & seq. Marchais, as before, vol. 2. p. 17. Barbot's Description of Guinea, p. 324.

N^o. III. N^o. 80. C Signals

Wave-
Coast.

Signals to be made from the Ship, as well as the
Tents on Shore, embarked in his Boat, and
came to anchor an hundred Paces from the Bar,
or Place, where the Swell or Surf of the Sea be-
gins. Here he found a Negro Canoa waiting for
him. All wife People on this Occasion strip to
their Shirt and Drawers, the least Evil that hap-
pens being a hearty Ducking. The Chevalier
was wet from Head to Foot, and in Spite of the
Precaution of his Boatmen, the third Wave wash-
ed over the Canoa from End to End. By good
Luck the Boat touched the Ground, and did not
overfet. The Negroes jumping-out, and aided
by those on Shore, immediately lifted it up with
all the People in it, and set them safe on dry Land.

Ran along
the Coast.

BARBOT says, that the Bar is every-where
as perilous and bad as at *Little Ardra*, especially
in the high Season, and, above all, at the new
and full Moon, when the Surges are so violent,
that it is impracticable for twelve or fifteen Days.

It may not be improper here to explain what
is meant by the Bar above-mentioned, which
runs along all the *Guinea-Coast*, and which is
greater or lesser, or, in other Words, more or
less dangerous, according to the Position of the
Coasts and the Winds that blow on them.

What is it.

By the Term Bar, is meant the Effect pro-
duced by three Waves, which break on the Coast
one after the other, of which the last is most
dangerous, because it forms a Kind of Arch high
enough, and of so large a Diameter, as to cover
a Canoa from End to End, fill it with Water,
and sink or overfet it, as it covers it, before it
reaches the Shore. The first two Waves do not
swell so high, that is, they do not form an Arch
as they approach the Shore; the first, because it
is not repelled by the preceding Wave, which
has had Time to break before it arrives: The
second swells a little, being repelled by the first:
The third meeting the Repulse of the second,
augmented by the first, is constrained to fall back
on itself, and forms to considerable a Swell or Arch.
This is that terrible Bar on which so many have
been lost.

How passed
by Canoes.

THESE Waves begin at about a Musket-Shot
from Shore, because the Sea meets here a high
flat Bank, which having once passed, you have
nothing to fear but the Surge or Surf, which car-
ries the Boat ashore with incredible Rapidity.
The Skill of the Canoamen here consists in
jumping quickly into the Sea, and supporting the
Canoa on both Sides, so that it may come ashore
without Violence or Overfetting. This being ef-
fected, in a Moment after the Passengers and
Goods are landed safely, though ever so heavy.
These *Whidah-Negros* are so used to this Bar,

since the *Europeans* traded here, that at present
rarely any Boats are lost, although before they
frequently were. Indeed they run no Hazard,
for they are excellent Swimmers, and know how
to get ashore; and as they are naked, they make
nothing of being wet.

Whidah
Kingdom.

THE *Negros* often make this dangerous
Passage a Pretence to plunder the Boats of *Kow-
rir*, or Brandy. When there is no White on
board to look after the Goods on these Occasions,
they cease to row or paddle, keeping the Canoa
up with their Oars, while some of the most dex-
terous of them pierce the Anchors or Barrels of
Brandy, and fill their Bottles all round. After this,
they fall a rowing with all their Might; and
when they get to Shore tell the Factor, who is
angry at their Stay, that their Canoa had sprung
a Leak, which they lay-by to stop, and with great
Difficulty got to Shore.

THESE Canoes are all of one Piece, made of
a Tree hollowed slightly. They are usually from
fifteen to eighteen Foot long, and from three to
four Foot broad, and as many deep. There are
commonly ten Rowers, each with their Paddles.
These resemble Baker's Shovels, and are about
four or five Foot long, the broad End or Shovel
about fifteen Inches long, and eight broad, and
of one entire Piece of firm Wood. The *Negros*
fit two and two, their Faces turned to the
Place they go to. He who governs the Stern,
answers with his Voice to the Pilot, who sits be-
fore, and is generally the most skilful of the
Crew. Those who row or paddle sit on Bam-
boos, or thick Cane, which cross the Canoa,
and whose Ends are fastened in the Sides. The
Pilot, by the Tone of his Voice, marks the
Time, directing them to row either slower or
swift. It is a Pleasure to see them when they
tug with all their Force, bending sometimes dou-
ble, and giving the Canoa an extraordinary Way.

How passed.

WHEN they carry Whites ashore, they make
them sit in the Bottom of the Canoa, at the
fore Part, one behind the other. If they carry
them on board from Land, they place them in
the hind Part of the Canoa. This Method is
prudent, because you are less exposed going a-
shore in this Position, the Wave taking the Ca-
noa behind; whereas, in returning, it takes it
before. The *Negros* on these Occasions are very
careful of their Passengers, and if you leave the
Management to them, there seldom any Acci-
dent happens. It is otherwise, however, with
Respect to the Goods; whatever Care the Mer-
chants or Captains take to prevent their Thefts,
it is almost impossible. The *Negros* are able to
give Lessons on this Article to our most dexterous

Careful of
Passengers.

Ships.
Coast.
But village
Goods.

Sharpen. If they find you watch them so close, that they cannot gain their End, they will overturn their Canoe in Places where the Barrels or Boxes sink to the Bottom, and at Night return to fish them up again.

WHEN the Goods are brought ashore, they place them in Tents, which the Captains set up by the Sea-Side. On the Top of these Tents there is erected one or more Poles, with Flags or Pendants, which serve to give the Signals agreed-on to the Boats that lie without the Bar: For though the Distance be but small, as hath been already observed, yet no Voice can be heard, not even with the Help of a Speaking-Trumpet, the Noise of the Waves and Roar of the Surge are so great.

Whidah a
Free Port.

FORMERLY none but the *English* and *Dutch* were allowed to trade here: But afterwards the *French* obtained Leave to build their Fort; and it is now, through the Cunning of the Natives, made a free Port for all Nations to resort to: The Consequence whereof is, that Negroes, which were purchased there, when the *African-Company* first settled among them, for about fifty Shillings or three Pounds per Head, are now advanced to twenty Pounds prime Cost.

SECT. II.

Markets at Whidah. Virtualling Booths. Merchandizes sold. Female Merchants. Shell Money current: The several Species, with their Value. Way of travelling in Hamacks. Serpentines. French Privilege. Negro Porters. Convenience of this Voyage. Cheap and swift.

Markets of
Whidah.

EVERY fourth Day there is a Market at *Sabi*, which is held in different Places of the Town. There is also a weekly one in the Province of *Apogua*, which is so resorted to, that there are usually five or six thousand Merchants.

AT *Whidah* there are several Fairs or Markets, says *Phillips*, but the largest is about a Mile from the King's Town (or *Sabi*) to the North-East, in the Fields, under a Tuft of Trees, where twice a Week, he thinks on *Wednesdays* and *Saturdays*, there is a great Concourse of Men, Women, and Children. The King's Wives have Liberty to come to this Fair to sell their Cloths, &c. in making of which they employ most of their Time.

THESE Markets are extremely well regulated and governed, so that seldom any Disorder happens. Each Species of Merchandizes and Merchants have a separate Place allotted them by themselves. The Buyers may haggle as much as

they will, but it must be without Noise or Fraud. To keep Order, the King appoints a Judge or Magistrate, who with four Officers, well armed, inspects the Markets, hears all Complaints, and in a summary Way decides all Differences, having Power to seize and sell as Slaves all who are caught in stealing or disturbing the Peace. Besides this Magistrate, there is a Gransee of the Kingdom, called *Kuagongla*, who is Examiner of the Money, or *Bujis*. These should be strung to the Number of forty to make a *Tyala*. This Judge examines the Strings, and if he finds a single Shell wanting, confiscates it to the King.

THE Markets are surrounded with little Booths occupied by Cooks, or Suttlers, who sell the People Victuals: But they can only sell Meat, either Beef, Pork, Goat's Flesh, or Dog's, there being other Booths, where Women sell Bread, Rice, Millet, Maiz, and *Kékkis*: Others sell *Pita*, (or *Pitaw*) which is a Kind of refreshing Beer, well tasted, and not heady. In other Booths are sold Palm-Wine and Brandy. Those who want a Dinner must pay before-hand for what Victuals and Drink they want, for here is no Credit. After this, they go eat it where they can.

THE Negro-Markets are well furnished: Here are to be sold Slaves, Men, Women, or Children; Oxen, Sheep, Goats, Dogs; Poultry and Fowl of all Kinds; Monkeys, and other Animals; European Cloth of all Sorts; Linen and Woollen, printed Calicos, Silks, Grocery-Ware, China, Gold in Dust, or Bars; Iron in Bars, or wrought: In a Word, all Sorts of European Goods, as well as the Produce of *Africa* and *Asia*; and all at a reasonable Price: This is the more surprising, as these Merchants sometimes buy these Goods at the second, or third Hand, and go sell them three or four hundred Leagues off.

THEIR chief Wares to sell, are *Whidah*-Cloths, Mats, Baskets, Jars for *Pita*, Kalabashes of all Kinds, wooden Bowls and Cups, red and blue Pepper, *Malaghetta*, Salt, Palm-Oil, *Kanki*, and the like.

THE Slave-Trade is carried-on by Men; all other Goods are disposed of by the Women. Our exactest Dealers might go to School to these Female Negro-Merchants, who have an extraordinary Art in setting-off their Wares, and are excellent Accountants; so that the Men, with good Reason, rely on their Management.

THE current Payments at the Markets, and elsewhere, are made in *Bujis*, or Gold; and as there is no Credit required or given, their Merchants keep no Books.

THE *Bujis*, or *Kowris*, says *Barbot*, which

* *Marchant's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 24, & seq.

p. 30, & seq.

as before, p. 165, & seq.

as before.

* *Marchant*, as before, vol. 1. p. 162.

* A Mistake,

* *Marchant*, as before, p. 166.

* Importance of the *African Company's* Forts, &c.

* *Phillips's Voyage*, p. 222.

* *Marchant*, as before, p. 165, & seq.

* *Phillips*,

* *Phillips*, we presume, for *Perpetuans*, or *Perpetuans*.

* The same.

* In the Original, *Bogias*.

slave-
Coast.

the French call *Bougei*, are small, milk-white Shells, commonly of the Size of small Olives. They are transported from the *Maldiver* Isles, as Ballast, by the Natives, to *Goa*, *Kochin*, and other Parts, from whence they are brought over to *Ebropé*, chiefly by the *Dutch*, who make a great Profit by them, according as the Nations who trade to *Guinea* have occasion for this Traff to carry on their Trade there and at *Angola*. According to their Scarcity or Plenty in *England* and *Holland*, their Price, by the hundred Weight, rises and falls. The Author can give no Reason why they are sold by Weight, not by Measure.

THESE *Kouris* are of different Sizes, the smallest little bigger than a common *Pea*, the largest as an ordinary *Walnut*, longish like an *Olive*; but these larger ones are in no great Quantity, in Proportion to those of inferior Sizes, and they are all intermixed, great and small. They are commonly brought from the *East Indies* in Packs or Bundles, well wrapt-up, and put into Barrels in *England* and *Holland*, for the better Convenience of the *Guinea*-Trade.

Species and
Value.

AT *Whidah* and *Arara*, they serve both for Ornament, and as current Coin. At the first Place, the Natives bore a Hole through each *Buji*, with an Iron Instrument made for that Purpose, and so thread them forty *Bujis* on a String, which in *Portuguese*, they call *Togues*, and in their own Language, *Senre*. Five such Strings, called *Senras*, of forty *Bujis* each, make what they call in *Portuguese*, a *Gallinba*, and in the *Whidah* Tongue, a *Foré*. Two hundred *Senras*, or fifty such *Forés*, make an *Alkove*, or *Guinbatton*, as the Blacks call it. This *Alkove* generally weighs about sixty Pounds, and contains four thousand *Bujis*.

WITH these *Tokes*, *Senras*, or Strings of forty *Bujis*, they buy and sell all Sorts of Goods amongst themselves, as we do with Gold and Silver; and are so taken with them, that they say they are preferable to Gold, both for Ornament and Traffic. It is the Custom here to estimate a Man's Wealth, by the *Alkoves* of *Bujis* and the Slaves he possesses.

A SLAVE is rated at an *Alkove*, or *Guinbatton*, of *Kouris*. *Marchais* says, according to the

Market-Price, a Slave sells from eighteen to twenty *Kabeshtu*, or from seventy to eighty thousand *Bujis*, which weigh about an hundred and eighty Pounds, *Paris* Weight.

Which
Kintahus

THE *European*, *Grandees*, and rich Men, are carried in *Hammocks*, borne on the Heads of their Slaves. Their finest *Hammocks* are brought from *Brazil*, and are of Cotton. Some are wrought close, like a Piece of Cloth; others open, like a Net-work. Their usual Length, is seven Foot, by ten, twelve, or fourteen Foot broad. Each End has fifty or sixty Knots, threaded with small Cords of Silk, Cotton, or *Pitte*, which they call *Ribbands*, each of them about three Foot long. All the *Ribbands* of each End, unite to make one Ring, through which is passed a Cord fastened to the End of a Reed, or Bamboo-Cane, about fifteen or sixteen Foot long, at the other End of which is fastened the opposite End of the *Hammock*; so that it hangs in the Form of a Semicircle. The two Porters carry the Ends of the *Hammock* on their Heads; the Person carried sits, or lies at length, in the *Hammock*, not in a direct Line with the Vehicle, because in that Situation the Body would lie double, with the Feet as high as the Head, but in a diagonal Position, with his Head at one Corner and his Feet at the opposite Side, by which Means he lies as if stretched on a Couch. People of Fashion use a Pillow to raise their Head.

THE *Hammocks* brought from *Brazil* are of different Colours well wrought, with Valances and Fringes, of the same Stuff, hanging at the Sides, and very ornamental. They commonly use an Umbrella to screen them from the Sun, which the Person in the *Hammock* holds in his Hand. If they travel in the Night, and would shun the Dew, which are dangerous in this Country, they stretch a common, or waxed Cloth over the Pole, and even are carried sleeping on their Journey, with much greater Ease than in a Litter.

THE *European* Directors, and some *Grandees*, use *Hammocks* made like the *Serpentines* in *Brazil*, which have been accurately described by M. *Fraxier*, and which *Durret* confounds with the *Palanquins* used in the *East Indies*.

^a *Barber's* Description of *Guinea*, p. 339.

^b *Phillips* says, they string them on *Ruthes*.

^c *Phil.*

^d *Phillips* calls them *Faggys*; *Atkins*, *Tocciis*; *Marchais*, *Togues*.

^e The above-named Authors write *Gallinas*, and rate the Currency thus: Forty *Kouris* make a *Tokki*, five *Tokkis* a *Gallina*, and twenty *Gallinas* a *Grand* *Ruibis*, as *Atkins*, and *Kabys*, as *Marchais* calls it; which answers to the *Alkove* of *Barber*, as containing four thousand *Bujis*.

^f *Barber*, as before, p. 326, and 339.

^g *Phillips's* Voyage, p. 228.

^h *Marchais's*

ⁱ Voyage, vol. 2. p. 32.

^j *Hamak* is a *Brazil* Word,

signifying a Net hung to rest in, made there from the Rind of a Tree. *Atkins's* Voyage, p. 112.

^k See the Figure.

^l The Custom is different on the *Gold-Coast*; for there they sit-up in the *Hammock*, with their Legs and Feet hanging over one Side, and leaning their Back over the Bamboo, while the Slaves run along by their *Hammocks*, holding Umbrellas over their Heads, to guard them from the the Sun. See *Smith's* Voyage, p. 138.

^m In his Voyage to the

South-Sea.

Slave-
Coast.

THE Serpentine no Way differs from the Ham-
mock, but in its being covered with a Canopy,
or well arched Roof, which runs all the Length
of the Hamock, and is about four Foot broad.
It is made of Palteboard, or thin Boards of the
lightest Wood, and covered with a Silk-Brocade,
or fine waxed Cloth, with Taffety Curtains,
which may be drawn on every Side. In this the
European Directors are usually carried.

WHEN they go out of Town, either for Di-
version, or on a Journey, they are always ef-
corted by the Negro Captain, or Grandee, Pro-
tector of the Nation they belong to, who is car-
ried in his Hamock, immediately after the Di-
rector's Serpentine. At the Head of the Proce-
sion is borne the Flag of the Nation: After
which march the Negro Guards, to the Number
of an hundred, an hundred and fifty, or two
hundred, with Drums and Trumpets. Those
that have Guns are constantly firing them. The
Drums beat, the Trumpets sound, and all dance
and sing as they go along.

French Pri-
vilege.

THE *French* Director and Flag enjoy the Pre-
cedency here on all Occasions. This is a Right
they have had from Time immemorial^a.

CAPTAIN PHILLIPS is still more particu-
lar, with regard, at least, to the Manner of
Travelling: The Hamock, says that Author, is
generally made of a large Cotton Cloth; but
the Factors have them very fine, of Silk, or
Broad-Cloth. It is about nine Foot long, and
six or seven broad, slung, at both Ends, with se-
veral small Cords, or Ribbands, which draw
them up like a Purse, and accommodated with
Nooses, to slip-over the Ends of a Pole about
nine Foot long. The Traveller, getting into
this Hamock, either lies along, or sits, as he is
disposed, while he is carried between two Ne-
gros, the Ends of the Pole resting on their Heads,
with small Rolls of Linen underneath. In this
Manner they will walk and run, as fast as most
Horses can trot, cheerfully singing in Parts to
each other. When tired, they are relieved by two
fresh Negros, stiled Hamock-Men, there being

Negro Por-
tents.

a always six Negros to attend the Hamock. Of
these there are several Sets, to be let at easy
Rates, to such as are not able to keep Sets of
their own; like the *Kabobirs* and great Men,
who use often to compliment the *English* with
their Hamocks, to carry them from the King's
Town to their Factory: But this cost them
more than if they were hired, their Slaves inces-
santly importuning them for Brandy and other
Dagbis, which, for Quiet's Sake, they gave them,
though the Fellows were little the better for
what they got, their Patroons taking all from
them at their Return.

Whidah
Kingdom.

THIS Country admits of no other Kind of Convenience
Travelling for *Europeans*, by Reason of the ex-
cessive Heat of the Sun, in which an *Englishman*
can scarcely walk half a Mile a Day without
fainting: But the Hamock-travelling relieves ex-
ceedingly; for there is a thin Cloth thrown-over
the Pole, which keeps off the Sun, and falling-
down hollow on each Side the Hamock, with
the Motion of the Porters, attracts a fine cool-
ing Air. The Author often took pleasant Naps
in them on the Road, and the generality of Peo-
ple in the *West Indies* sleep in them at Night.

WHEN a *Kabobir*, or Man of Figure, tra-
vels, he has ten or a dozen Blacks, with Guns,
to attend his Hamock, making great Huzzaings
and Firing along the Road; and when arrived at
his Journey's End, they fire a Volley, which is
the utmost of his Grandeur^b.

ATKINS says, Travelling here is in Serpen-
tines, with Curtains to draw round against Heat/
or Flies, two Men carrying and two attending;
and that they are hired at six Shillings a Day^c.

CAPTAIN SNELGRAVE, in his Journey
from *Jakin* to *Affen*, had six Hamock-Men, who
relieved one another by Turns. The Distance was
about forty Miles, and he was three Days in go-
ing, at the Rate of four Miles an Hour; but in
his Return, the Fellows ran with such Speed,
that they came back between nine in the Morn-
ing and five in the Afternoon^d.

^a Marchant's Voyage, vol. 2. p. 212, & seq.
Voyage to Guinea, p. 112.

^b Phillips's Voyage, p. 214, & seq.

^c Atkins's
^d Snelgrave's Voyage, p. 24, 26, and 81. See also before, p. 491, and 498.

C H A P. III.

Of the Whidah Negro.

S E C T. I.

Their Persons, Characters, Dress, and Diet.

Their Persons. Ignorance. Extremely polite. Rules of Civility generally observed. Ceremony at visiting a Superior. Industry of Men and Women. Work for small Wages. Addicted to Theft: Great Artists that Way. No Redress against Thieves. Dress of the Men: Of the Women, and Maidens, King and Nobles: Of their Wives. Their Ornaments. Their Diet: Dogs - Flesh, a Dainty. Their Bread, how made.

Their Person.

THE Whidah People, of both Sexes, says Barbot, are generally tall, lusty, and well-limbed; not of so jetty, shining a Black as those of the *Geld-Coast*, and much less so than those of the *Sanaga* and *Gambra*; but far more industrious and laborious*. They are, however, very ignorant. They make no Distinction of Times, have no Festivals, nor Divisions of Hours, Days, Weeks, Months, or Years; but reckon their Seed-Time by the Moons, and very well know, that every third Day is a great Market-Day.

THEY reckon all by the Head, at which they are as exact and ready as the Europeans with Pen and Ink, though the Sum amounts to several Thousands, which makes it very easy to trade with them. *Marchais* enlarges on their Want of Knowledge. The wisest amongst them, says he, do not know their own Age: If you ask them how old such a Child is, they will answer, He was born when such a Director came from France, or when such an one went away: If you ask at what Time of the Year, they will tell you in Seed-Time, or Harvest. These are their Epochas, and you need ask no more†.

Extremely polite.

YET for all this Ignorance, the Inhabitants of Whidah are more polite and civilised than most Nations in the World, not excepting the European. According to *Bosman*, they far exceed all other Negroes (whom he ever conversed with) both in good and bad Qualities. He first observes, that they all treat his Nation, the Dutch, in the most civil, obliging, and engaging Man-

ner; that instead of teasing them continually for Presents, as all other Negroes do, they never desire beyond a Morning's Draught; and had rather give than receive; that in Trade they are pleased with Acknowledgements for their Services, but obstinately fond of their ancient Customs and Opinions.

THEY are so civil to each other, and respectful to Superiors, that upon a Visit to one, or even meeting by Chance, they immediately fall on their Knees, and kiss the Earth thrice, clapping his Hands, and wishing the other a good Day, or good Night, and congratulates him; which the Superior, without altering his Posture, barely answers, by clapping his Hands softly, and wishing the other a good Day: All which Time the Inferior remains sitting or prostrate on the Earth till the other departs, or says it is enough; unless his Affairs call him away: In this Case, after begging Leave, he retires, creeping on the Ground; for it would be thought a great Crime to sit upon a Chair or Bench before his Superior.

THE like Deference is paid by the younger to the elder Brother, the Children to the Father, and the Wives to their Husbands. None of which will deliver, or receive any Thing to or from his or her Superior, Brother, Father, or Husband, otherwise than on the Knee, and with both Hands together, a Sign of still greater Submission: If they speak to any of the said Persons, their Hand is always clasped before their Mouth, that their Breath may not offend them.

WHEN two Persons, of equal Condition, meet, they fall both down on their Knees together, clap Hands, and mutually salute, by wishing each other a good Day. These Ceremonies are also nicely observed by the Attendants and Dependants, on each Side, which looks very agreeable.

If a principal Person happens to sneeze, all in his Presence fall on their Knees; and after having kissed the Earth and clapped their Hands, wish him all Happiness and Prosperity.

WHEN a Person receives a Present from his Superior, he claps it in his Hand, and kissing the Earth very submissively, returns Thanks. In short, the Inferior shows as much Respect here as in any Part of the World, very different from

* Barbot's Description of Guinea, p. 330.

† Bosman's Description of Guinea, p. 352.

Or rather, every fourth Day, as *Marchais* observes, vol. 2. p. 161, & fig.

Athens observes, as a Proof of this, that a Woman, though *Kanfa* (or temporary Wife) to an European, never relinquishes her Country Gods, as has been frequently tried at the English Factories. See his Voyage to Guinea, &c. p. 115.

Slave-Cost. the *Gold-Coast*, where the Negroes live together a like Brutes, without any Distinction.

Exactly observed.

ACCORDING to *Marchais*, these Ceremonies must be repeated scrupulously each Time they meet, though it were twenty Times a Day, Custom not authorizing the least Omission; and the Neglect of these Ceremonies is attended with Punishment, or a Fine^b. If you will believe this Author, all the Nation treat the *French* with a Respect and Complaisance much beyond that they show other Nations^c. The last King of *Whidah*, it seems, was so very observant on this Article, that one of his principal Officers having insulted a *Frenchman*, and lifted his Hand to strike him, the King caused him to be beheaded on the Spot, in Spite of all the warmest Efforts of the *French* Director to save the Criminal.

Ceremony of visiting.

THE same Author affirms, that the *Chinese* themselves do not carry the Laws of Ceremony farther, nor observe them more rigidly than the *Whidah*-Negros. When one of them visits a Person, who is his Superior, he always sends him Notice before-hand^d, to intreat an Audience, and leaves him to fix the Time. Having obtained it, he sets-out, attended by all his Domesticities, and his musical Instruments, if his Condition allows him to have any. All these march before him, slowly, and in good Order, himself closing the Procession, carried in an Hamock by two Slaves. He alights some Paces from the House of the Person he intends to visit, and advances to the first Gate, where he finds the Servants of the Master of the House. He then causes his Music to cease, and prostrates himself on the Ground with all his Train. The Domesticities who come to receive him do the same, and after many Ceremonies, about who shall rise first, he enters the first Court, where he leaves his Servants, taking only with him a few of his principal Attendants.

A Superior.

BEING conducted by the Servants of the House, he goes into the Audience-Chamber, where he finds the Master himself seated, without stirring, or making the least Motion. The Visitor then kneels down, kisses the Earth, claps his Hands and wishes his Superior a long Life, and all Prosperity. This Ceremony he repeats three Times; after which the other, without moving, bids him rise, and places him opposite in an armed Chair, or on a Mat, as he is seated himself. He then begins the Conversation, and when he judges it has continued long enough, he makes a Sign to his People to bring Liquors, and presents them to his Guest, which is a Signal to retire, as Coffee and Perfumes are amongst the

Turks. The Visitor then repeats the Ceremony of kneeling thrice with the same Compliments, and withdraws. The Servants attend him to the Gate, and desire him to go into his Hamock, but he declines it, till the two Companies make a new Prostration^e; after which the Visitor gets into his Hamock, his Instruments begin to play, and he returns home in the same Order he set-out^f.

It may be observed, as a Mark of Decency, which is the Effect of Politeness, that both Sexes squat when they make Water; and the Women may obtain a Palaver and Fine against any Man, who, at such Time, should indecently discover his Nakedness^g.

NOR do the *Whidah*-Blacks differ less from other Negroes in Industry than Politeness and Civility: For, whereas Sloth and Idleness is the favourite Vice of the *Gold-Coast* Negroes, here both Sexes continue their Labour without ceasing till the Work be finished, and are continually seeking for Employment, in order to get Money.

THEIR Diligence, according to *Marchais*, is surprising. It is true, says he, they are not fond of Labour; but when once they begin, they set about it in good earnest, and you are surprized to see ten thousand Acres of Ground tilled in Ridges, which lay all fallow the Day before^h.

BESIDES Agriculture, (from which the King and a few great Men only are exempted) their Manufactures are: spinning Cotton, weaving fine Cloths, making Kalabashes, wooden Utensils, Agayes, and Smiths Ware, besides several other handicraft Work; some in greater Perfection than on the *Gold-Coast*, and others not known there.

WHILE the Men are so diligent, the Women are not idle: They brew, or rather boil Beer, and dress Victuals, which they carry to Market to sell, together with their Husband's Ware, each striving to out-do another. Hence they all live very splendidly, eating of the best that is to be gotten; and not as the Blacks on the *Gold-Coast*, who dare not think of a good Morfel when it is dearⁱ.

PHILLIPS observes, their Women are mostly employed in making *Whidah*-Cloths, Mats, Baskets, *Kanki*, *Pito*, (or *Pitau*-Drink) and in planting and sowing their Corn, Yams, Potatoes, &c. The *Whidah*-Cloth is about two Yards long, and about a Quarter of a Yard broad, three such being commonly joined together. It is of divers Colours, but generally white and blue. For a Pound of Leaf-Tobacco, be it ever so green and bad, the Author could buy one of

Whidah King on.

^a *Boissan's* Description of Guinea, p. 341: and *Narbot's* Description of Guinea, p. 530.

^b *Marchais's* Voyage, vol. 2. p. 184.

^c It is true, they may like the *French* best, as being the most polite of all the European Nations.

^d This is like the Visit-Billets among the *Chinese*.

^e All this is so like the *Chinese*'s Fashion, that it seems to be copied from them.

^f *Marchais*, as before, p. 182, & *Jegou*.

^g *Atkins's* Voyage, p. 112.

^h *Marchais*, as before, p. 207.

ⁱ *Boissan*, as before, p. 342.

these:

Slave-
Coast.

these Cloths, which would yield a Crown in a *Barbados*; also one for eight Knives, which cost Eighteen-pence. To make these Cloths, especially the blue Streaks, they unravel most of the Sayes and Perpetuanas, which the *English* sell them ^{Whidah Drift.}.

Small
Wages.

THE Men work for small Wages, but must be paid Earnest before-hand. The Service done the *Dutch* by the meaner Sort consists in carrying their Goods from the Shore to the King's Village, where the *Dutch*-House stands. This being about three Leagues, they commonly pay from eight to twelve Pence the Burden, in Proportion to its Weight, the Price of each being exactly adjusted. This is cheap Labour, but to make it up, they play an Aftergame, by pilfering the Goods, as hath been already observed.

WITH a Burden of an hundred Weight on their Head they run a Sort of continual Trot, so swift, that the *Hollanders* can scarce keep Pace with them, though not loaded with an Ounce.

THOSE who are very rich here, besides Husbandry, in which their Wives and Slaves are employed under them, drive a very considerable Trade, not only in Slaves, but all other Sorts of Commodities ^{Small Wages.}.

Add Still to
21st.

BUT if the *Whidah*-Blacks exceed other Negroes in Politeness and Industry, they also surpass them in Thieving. The King told *Bosman*, at his first coming, to *Whidah*, that his Subjects were not like those of *Ardra* and other neighbouring Countries; who, upon the least Disgust with the *Europeans*, would poison them. This is, continues he, what you have no Reason to fear here, but I advise you to take particular Care of your Goods; for my People seem to be born expert Thieves, and will rob you of no more than they can come at.

BOSMAN was highly pleased with this frank Declaration of the King's, and resolved to be so careful, that they should not pilfer much from him: But he soon found, that he reckoned without his Host, for their Cunning in this Art surpassed all his Apprehensions.

THE same Author adds, that except three or four of the most considerable Men, it is a Nation of Thieves; and so expert in their Vocation, that a *Frenchman* said, they understood the Art of Thievery better than the Cutpurse and Pick-pockets of *Paris*. It seems this Gentleman had packed-up every Thing in his Warehouse ready to ship-off, among which he had great Store of Chickens laid-in for the Voyage: But when he came next Morning, he found neither Goods, nor Fowl, though the Warehouse was firm, close, and well locked; so that he could not imagine

which Way they had done it: But *Bosman* afterwards discovered the Trick to his Cost.

THE Negroes of the *Gold-Coast* are very thievish, but not to be compared with these. If you had a Watchman with a thousand Eyes, you could not hinder the Porters from stealing the Goods in their Way from the Shore to *Sabi*; and if caught in the Fact, they have Assurance enough to ask, whether you can imagine they would work for such small Wages, without the Liberty of stealing?

In the Author's Time the *English* sewed-up their Barrels of *Bujis* (the Money of this Country) in Sacks, thinking thereby to secure them, but all in vain: For in carrying them the Negroes cut the Sacks off the Barrels, and dug-out their *Bujis* through the Chinks of the Barrel with an Iron Chisel. They have an hundred Ways of stealing, too tedious to recite.

No Person can provide against them; and if you complain to the King, you cannot expect any Justice, much less Retribution: For though he orders the Offender to be searched for and punished, yet no Person dare inform, for fear of his eldest Son, who commonly shares with, and consequently protects, these Villains.

THEY stole in one Night, out of the Author's Store, to the Value of sixty Pounds *Sterling*, which convinces him, that the only Way to be free from their Thievery, was to leave them and their Country. They got-in by a Hole made in the Thatch, (being Reed covered over with Clay or Mud, to prevent firing) through which they drew-out his Goods with a Pole, having a Hook at the End. In the *Frenchman's* Warehouse the Hole was big enough for a Man to pass through.

ATKINS observes, they are so thievish, as to steal the very Waist-Cloths of the Slaves brought from the inland Countries.

THE Negroes here are more richly clad than those of the *Gold-Coast*, except in Gold and Silver, which they have not, nor are they acquainted with their Worth. They wear five or six Cloths of different Sorts one over another; the uppermost is eight or nine Yards long, which they wrap very decently about their Body. None but the royal Family are allowed to wear Red.

THE Women also wear a Multitude of Cloths or Pagnes heaped one over another, not above an Ell long each. They buckle the Ends on their Belly. The Negroes say, this Fashion was the Womens Invention, grounded on a Convenience which they found in it, and doubtless, says the Author, every Mode is some Way, or other useful.

Phillips's Voyage, p. 220.
Bosman, and elsewhere, *Bosjes*.

Bosman's Description of Guinea, p. 343.
Bosman, as before, p. 348, & 349.

In the Original.
Atkins's Voyage, p. 112.
MEN;

Slave-
Coast.

MEN, Women, and Children go with their Heads close shorn by a Razor, and without any Covering, in all Sorts of Weather; whereas, the Author observes, they must be very hard headed.

And
Maidens.

PHILLIPS says the Women go stark-naked as they were born, till they are married, and then they cover themselves before; but it is the Sign of a Virgin to be bare, who goes without any apprehension of Shame or Immodesty, the Author having often seen above two hundred of them at a Time. The young Men do the same, so that the Sexes may see how they like each others Persons before they go together; and not in *Europeans* are forced to do, take Wives at all Ventures, without knowing their bodily Defects and Infirmitates, which are covered and concealed by their Cloaths.

King and
Nobles.

MARSHALL is somewhat more particular than *Beaumont*, with regard to the Dress of the *Whidah* Blacks, and besides seems to differ a little from him. The Dress of the King and Grandees, says he, is much the same. It consists of a Piece of white Linen, about three Yards long, which they fold about their Waist, letting it fall to their Feet like a Petticoat. Over this they place a Piece of Silk of the same Size, which produces the same Effect; and over that another of Silk Stuff, or Brocade, richer than the former; of six or seven Yards long, which they tie across their Belles by the two Ends, one of which they make up in a Roll on the right Side, and let the other fall to the Ground, where it lies along the Side. They wear Bracelets and Necklaces of Pearl, Gold, Coral, and other Jewels, with Chains of Gold. The most Part go naked, some wear Hats with Feathers in the French Mode, and carry Canes in their Hands. The common People generally go naked, except a Piece of Cotton-Cloth, or coarse Pagne, made of Mat of the Bigness of a Napkin, tied about their Waist.

Of their
Wives.

The Women of Fashion or Distinction wear about the Middle five or six Pieces of Pagne, one over the other; but so, that the upper one fall shorter than the under, which appears like a Flannel Petticoat. This was a great Fashion once in France; and perhaps at first was imported from *Whidah*. The King's Wives, and those of the Grandees, go like the rest, naked to the Waist, round which they wear two or three Pagnes of Cotton and Silk, the longest of

them falling to the Ankle, the others are a little shorter. All these Pagnes are very wide, and form a Sort of Cushion round the Reins, which gives their upper Part the Air of an Hamper, (or *Stoop*) which is not unlike the Fashion so much in Vogue in France. They wear also Chains or *Tier Ornaments*, Rings at their Ankles, like the Women on the *Sanaga*; several Rows of Necklaces and Bracelets on their Arms and Wrists. On their Head they wear a high Basket of Reeds neatly wrought and painted: It is shaped like a Bee-Hive, or like the *Pape's Tiara*. They dress their Hair genteely, and with Art, adorning their Locks with Gold Spangles, and Bits of Coral or Beads.

All over *Negroland* they are very abstemious. Their Diet, in Comparison of the *English*. They have but few tame Creatures, as Kide, Sheep, Kine, &c. Indian-Corn, Rice, with Bananas, Plantains, Palm-Nuts, Pine Apples, and now and then a little stinking Fish, or a Fowl being the chief of their Diet. They have no Flesh-Market of any Sort.

PROVISIONS are plentiful at *Whidah* above any Place of the whole Coast, but neither very cheap, nor very large. A Cow of three hundred Pound Weight is reckoned a fine Beast, and will sell for two grand *Quibessis* (or *Kabessis*); a Calf of eighty Pound Weight for one; Sheep of twelve Pound Weight for eight *Gallinas*; Fowls for a *Quow*; a Dozen wild Fowl, or a Hog, for the same. But it is convenient in this Voyage always to provide *Kouris* or *Bujis*, (bought at one Shilling, and sold here at two shillings and six-pence per Pound) as the readiest for the Sort of Traffic, Coin being the dearest Way of buying at a Distance from *Europe*.

PHILLIPS says, the Negroes admire Dog's Flesh before any other, and that he had seen many very fat ones brought to Market to be sold.

According to *Marshall*, you see in all the Markets on the *Guinea-Coast* a great Number of fat Dogs tied two and two, which the People, who deal this Way, fatten for the Tables of the Grandees.

In this they agree with the *Obhuffs*, as well as in the Article of Canibity. The Savages, in North America, have the same Taste. On this Occasion *Labat* says, a Man who would refuse Dog's Flesh when hungry, deserves to starve; and that he often being invited by the Looks and Smell of boiled and roasted Dogs, has longed to taste of

^a *Beaumont's Description of Guinée*, p. 322. & 323.

p. 322. says, the King is dressed after the *Moroccan* Fashion, in a long violet, Silk Gown; or sometimes of Gold and Silver Brocade.

vol. 2. p. 47. & 48. and much good and cheap.

as before, p. 221.

^b See the Figure.

^c *Ashley's Voyage*, p. 120. & 121.

See before, p. 12.

^d *Phillips's Voyage*, p. 222.

^e In a long violet, Silk Gown; or sometimes of Gold and Silver Brocade.

^f And in England too.

^g *Marshall's Voyage*, p. 221.

^h *Phillips* says, p. 221, that they

ⁱ *Barbot*,

^j *Phillips*,

them, but was restrained through Fear of being reflected on. However, as they are faithful and domestic Animals, he thinks they ought to be spared.

BREAD is made of Indian or Guinea-Corn, ground between two Stones, called, *The Kanki-Stone* and *Rubber*. First they place this *Kanki-Stone*, which is smooth and broad, shelving in a Frame: Then putting-on it thirty or forty Grains of Indian-Corn, after it has lain sometime soaking in Water, bruise them with the Rubber, (which

is big enough for one to grasp in the Hand) and continue rubbing till the Corn is reduced to a Meal, much in the Manner Painters grind their Colours, often sprinkling Water thereon to moisten it. Of the Meal, tempered with Water, they make round Lumps like Dumplings, which they boil in an Earthen Crock, or bake over the Fire on an Iron or Stone; and this they call *Kanai*, which, with a little Palm-Oil, a Kalabash of *Pito*, (or *Pitow*) and a few Yams or Potatoes, is the Diet of the Generality.

Whidah
Marriages

CHAP. IV.

Of the Marriages, Diversions, Diseases and Funerals of the Natives.

SECT. I.

MARRIAGES.

Polygamy excessive. Marriage Ceremonies, not troublesome. Jealousy of the Men. Great Subjection of the Women. Divorces. Monthly Separations. Liberty of unmarried Women. Public Whores: Their Privilege. Children numerous. Great Fondness of Parents. Duty of Children. Circumcision of both Sexes. Law of Inheritance.

THE remaining Customs and Manners at *Whidah* are very like those on the *Gold-Coast*, excepting what relate to the Religion and Way of living of the Natives. With regard to Wives, whereas the *Gold-Coast* Blacks are content with one, two, or three, and the most considerable Men with eight, ten, or twenty Wives, they have here forty or fifty, and their chief Captain three or four hundred, some a thousand, and the King between four and five thousand*. This is confirmed by other Authors of Credit.

PHILLIPS says, the King of *Whidah* had, as he was informed by Captain *Tom* the Interpreter, three thousand Wives. This he thinks very probable, considering that each *Kabashir* had from ten to twenty Wives more or fewer as he pleased, or could maintain.

SNELLGRAVE asserts, that it is usual for a great Man at *Whidah* to have some Hundreds of Wives and Concubines*, and meaner Men in Proportion†.

THERE are few Countries where Marriages are less expensive, or attended with less Ceremony, than at *Whidah*. There is neither Contract, Portion, Settlements or Presents on either Side. The Negroes of the Western Coast of *Africa* buy their Wives at a good Rate, in Cattle or Goods, and if not found to be Maids, may send them back, and have their Price again: But nothing like this is practised at *Whidah*. As the Women here are generally not over fruitful, a Girl who has given Proof of her Ability this Way before Marriage, is always preferred to another, but the Parents receive no Advantage by the Bargain. The Marriages at *Whidah* are in this Manner:

WHEN a Man fancies a Girl, he goes without Ceremony to ask her Father, who seldom refuses his Consent, if his Daughter be marriageable. Her Parents conduct her to her Husband's House, who, as soon as she enters, presents her a new *Pagne*, which is commonly the first she ever put on, for she brings no Fortune but her Person; and if she has saved any thing, she leaves it behind her. The Husband kills a Sheep, which he eats with the Parents, sending a Piece to his Wife, the Custom here not permitting her to eat with her Spouse. After drinking a Couple of Bottles of Brandy together, the Parents retire, and leave their Daughter with her new Husband.

WHEN the Girl courted is not of Age to be married, the future Husband lets her continue with her Parents, without giving her any thing; nor does this Engagement hinder them from disposing of her

* *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 164.

† *Description of Guinea*, p. 144.

* *Phillips's Voyage*, p. 221, & seq. * The same Author observes, that the great Captain, principal Officer to the King of *Dahomé*, (who conquered *Sorbo* and *Whidah*) had five hundred Wives.

† *Snellgrave's Voyage*, p. 3, and 79.

Steve
Cost

to another, if a better Match offer in the mean a time τ .

THEIR Marriages, says *Phillips*, are as in the primitive Times. When a Man fancies a young Woman, he applies himself to her Father, and desires her for his Wife, which is seldom refused. Then he gives her a fine Cloth and Bracelets, and Necklaces of Rango mixed with Coral for her Arms and Neck, invites her Friends and his to a Treat of *Pilo*, and the Ceremony is over, never leaving a Farthing Portion with her.

ACCORDING to *Marchais*, it is prudent in these People, that the Expenses of Marriage are so small, otherwise their Grandees, instead of three or four hundred, (as they have) must be contented with one or two Dozen, or be ruined by the Charge.

He adds, that the great Number of Wives here never incommodes the Husband, provided they be not *Betas*.

If a Slave has a Mind to marry a Girl, who is the Slave of another, he asks her of her Master, without applying to her Parents. The Children of this Marriage belong to the Master of the Wife, the Girl to the Master of the Husband.

*Journal of
the Navy*

THEY are extremely jealous here of their Wives, and great Respect is paid to those of the King, who must not be touched or looked upon, under severe Penalties². A proportionable Regard is had to those of great Men. When the People enter the Grandees Houses, they use this Expression, *Ago*, to warn the Woman to keep out of the Way. Though the Punishment is not the same, yet a Grandee has a Right to bastinate a Man who does not use this Precaution : But if he meets and touches one of the Grandee's Wives, and the Grandee complains to the King, he is severely punished³.

ALL that the Men gain by their Trade in Slaves or Induftry, is laid-out in Cloaths for themselves and Family. This is all their Care: Their Wives provide all the reft. This keeps them fully employed, and it is hard to conceive how they are able to bear fuch conftant Fatigue.

W'annu
g'at Su-
j'anna

In short, the Condition of the Wives here is little better than that of Slaves. They are obliged, as *Bafman* observes, to till the Ground for their Husbands only^b, but the most beautiful ones are kept at home, where, however, they are not excused from Work; besides which their Business is to serve and wait on their Husbands.

No rich Negro will suffer any Man to enter his Wives Houses¹. What is worse, these Wives, on the least Suspicion of Falseness, are sold to the *Europeans*, the King's not excepted, very different from those on the *Gold-Cost*, where they often make a Trade of their Wives Body: But here if any violates his Neighbour's Wife, if the Cuckold be rich, the Offender must not only die for it, but such a Crime is enough to plunge even his whole Family into Slavery².

IT is in the Power of the Man to be divorced when he pleases, which is done by turning the Wife out of Doors; but in this Case he is obliged to pay the Parents double the Price of the Entertainment he was at. This Law, says *Labori*, is very convenient for Husbands who are tired of their Wives, and if received in *Europe*, would prevent many unhappy Marriages. But this Hardship is sufficiently retaliated by the Custom, permitting the Woman to quit her Husband whenever she is so disposed, in which Case the Parents are obliged to repay the Husband even the small Charges before-mentioned.

It may be likewise reckoned among the *Rites* shewed to Women here, that during the Time of their monthly Visitation, they are not permitted Entrance into the King's or other great Mens Houses, on less Penalty than Death, or perpetual Slavery.

According to *Marchant*, the *Whidah* Negroes seem to have borrowed from the *Tars* the Law of Separation from their Wives at certain Seasons. On these Occasions the Women are obliged, on Pain of Death, to quit their Husbands or Parents House as soon as they find themselves ill, and to forsake all Correspondence with any Person as long as their Disorder continues. According to the Number of Women in a Family, there is one or several Houses at the End of the Inclosure, where they remain under the Care of some old Women who tend them, and take Care to wash and purify them before they return to their Families.

NOTWITHSTANDING the rigorous Punishments, the Women of the Scraglio, and those of the Grandees, who have a great Number, chuse to run all Hazards, rather than want a Gallant. *Whidah* would furnish abundant Materials for a Negro *Atalanta*.

THE young Girls here are, however, ex-^{empted} from this rigorous Law. If one of these unmarried

* *Marshall's Voyage*, vol. 2, p. 177, & seq.

the Serpent.

Kings.

accepted.

before

before, p. 180.

⁶ *Marchais*, as before,

¹ Morebait, as before, p. 79.

¹ *Bosman's Description of Guinea*,

¹ *Marchais*, as before, p. 170.

* *Philby's Voyage*, p. 220.

1479

The same, p. 181.

344, and *Marshall*, as before.

* Priestesses of

account of their

ing's Wives not

Bosman, 20

* *Marchais*, 25

Slave-
Code.

be surprized with her Lover, no-body pretends to blame her, not even her Parents or nearest Relations, the having a full Right to dispose of her Person. Her having Children before Marriage is so far fromblemishing her Character, that it is a powerful Recommendation, as giving Hopes to her future Husband of many Children, which in this Country are esteemed as Wealth: Yet the Women here are not very fruitful, few having above two or three Children. A Woman that has borne five or six, is highly valued. At the Age of twenty-four or twenty-six, the Negroes usually leave off bearing.

THE same Author observes elsewhere, that the laborious Condition of the Wives here, engages Numbers of young Girls in an abandoned and loose Way of Life. As they are intirely Mistresses of their own Persons, they quit their Parents, live by themselves, and trade on their own Account; prostituting their Bodies to whoever will pay them well, as they know their Reputation will no Ways suffer by it.

THROUGHOUT the Country of *Whidah* there is very great Plenty of Whores, and at a cheaper Rate than on the *Gold-Coast*. There the Author had seen a vast Multitude of Huts, not above ten Foot long, and six broad, placed near the great Roads throughout the whole Country, in which these Women are obliged to ply at their appointed Days in the Week for the Relief of all Persons. And these Countries being very populous, the Slaves vastly numerous, and married Women kept up very strict, these Whores on those Days must of Necessity be very well tired: He had been assured, that some of them had lain with thirty Men in a Day.

THE common or established Price is three little *Baji* Shells, worth here about a Farthing, out of which they are obliged to subsist themselves, and besides may work on other Days if they please; for as no-body has any Property in them here, so they have no Supervisors, nor are they solemnly initiated as on the *Gold-Coast*: But it is customary for some of the most considerable and rich Negro Ladies, upon their Death-Bed, to buy some of these foreign Female Slaves, and make a Present of them to the Public. This these tender-hearted Creatures take for a great Work of Mercy and Charity, as some in *Europe* do the buying Masses for the Souls in Purgatory; and the Negroes no less firmly believe, that such public Benefactors shall receive their Recompence in the other Life, and that the more Whores they buy, the greater shall be their Reward.

THE last End of these Harlots is much the same with that of those on the *Gold-Coast*, wretched and miserable, and rather more so, they being obliged here to more Fatigue, and consequently sooner infected and worn-out, seldom arriving to a moderate Age.

FROM such a Number of Wives, a great Number of Children may reasonably be expected; for the Women are not barren, and the Men are naturally sanguin, eat and drink well, and use other Provocatives besides. The Author had seen Men who were Fathers of above two hundred Children. Having once asked *Agei*, one of the King's Captains, who served the *Dutch* several Years as Interpreter, how many Children he had, having always observed a good Number with him, he answered with a Sigh, that he had no more than seventy: And being questioned again, if he had buried any, he replied, as many as were then living.

THE King, who was present at this Conversation, assured the Author, that one of his Vice-Roys, assisted by his Sons and Grand-Sons, and their Slaves, had repulsed a powerful Enemy: That in all they made-out two thousand, not reckoning Daughters, or any that were dead. Surely these Men, says *Bayman*, would be fit to people a new World. He adds, that if these Reports were true, as he had not Reason to doubt, he did not wonder the Country was so populous, and annually sold so many Slaves.

SMITH observes, that it is frequent here to see Fathers, who have two hundred Children living at once. He adds, that it often happens a Man has half a dozen Children born in a Day, for they never cohabit with their Wives while pregnant, or during their monthly Visitations, which is indeed a potent Reason for Polygamy; besides, a Man's Wealth here consists in the Number of his Children, whom he can dispose of at Pleasure, except his eldest Son, the Males being frequently sold as Slaves, of which this Spot of Country furnishes a Thousand every Month for the Market.

WITH regard to the Article of selling their Children, *Marchais* (or his Editor) declares it to be absolutely false. There are no People on Earth, says that Author, more tender of their Offspring, or show more parental Affection. It is true, they sell their Wives, but they make a vast Difference between their Wives and their Children. The first they regard as their Slaves, and seeing they may take as many as they will, they keep them in their Duty by the Fear of this politic Chastise-

* *Marchais's Voyage*, p. 70.
the *Dutch* *Convent*.

Voyage, p. 202.

dicts what other Authors assert.

* The same, p. 181.

* *Bayman's Description of Gambia*, p. 315.

* This seems to be spoken of all the African Negroes in general; and if so, contra-

* In the Original, *Beffen*; called, by

* The same, p. 347.

* *Smith's*

ment,

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Slave-
Clash.

ment, which, with the Price they receive for one turbulent, uneasy, or barren Woman, enables them to purchase a Dozen young, handsome, obedient, industrious Girls, to encrease at once their Wealth and their Family.

THAT also sell the Children of their Slaves, as they are Part of their Stock; but for their own Children, though begotten on their Slaves, they regard them as free, making no Difference between them and those they have by their lawful Wives. In this the Laws of *Whidah* seem agreeable to those of the *Jews*, and are equally binding to the Prince as to the meanest Subject.

Duty of
Children.

CHILDREN never speak to their Parents, nor Wives to their Husbands, but on their Knees, except their Wives be *Betas*; and then, by virtue of their Consecration, the Law is reversed, and they exact the same Mark of Submission from the Husband.

YOUNGER Brothers or Sisters are obliged to pay the same Homage to the Elder, under Penalty of a Fine, which the latter can regulate at Discretion.

It does not appear, that Children have the same Respect for their Mothers as their Fathers. The Women practise the same Civilities to each other as the Men, and, as the Sex is usually fond of Ceremony, so it is probable they exceed them. The worst is, that these *Whidah* Negroes have, by no Means, the Complaisance for the Ladies which is practised in *Europe*.

Circumcision
in U/s.

THE Circumcision of Infants, especially the Males, is here customary, of which all they know is, that their Fathers did so before them. Here are some Girls liable to be circumcised; as well as the Boys, with regard to which he refers the Reader to what Mr. *Arnold Van Overbeek* says of the *Hottentots* at the *Cape of Good Hope*. The Negroes differ much as to the Time of performing this Rite, some doing it at four, five, or six, or others at eight or ten Years old.

Laws of In-
hereditary.

UPON the Father's Death, the eldest Son inherits not only all his Goods and Cattle, but his Wives, which he immediately holds, and enjoys as his own, except his own Mother's, for whom he provides a separate Apartment and Subsistence, in case she wants it. This Custom obtains not only with the King and Captains, but also among the Commonalty. But they can neither raze nor burn their Father's House, nor sacrifice any of his Wives or Slaves, as is done at the Decade of the King. To do either of these they must have the King's Consent, who never gives it.

* Priestesses.
mas on this Occasion.
Father's Mother.

L'Es Voyage, p. 219.

* *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 135, 136, 137, 138.

* *Rejman's Description of Guinea*, p. 353.

* *Rejman*, as before, p. 346.

* *Rejman*, as before, p. 354.

PHILLIPS observes, that when the King dies, all his Wives devolve to the next King by Election; and that the Wives of a *Kahojir*, with all his Goods, fall to the King at his Death; there being no Regard had to his Children, who have nothing but what is privately conveyed away by Stealth during their Father's Sickness.

Whidah
Gaming.

SECT. II.

The Diversions, Music, and Diseases in Whidah.

The Natives fond of Gaming: Games of Chance: Second Game: Third Game. Diversions: Shooting. Their Music: Drums: Kettle-Drums: Trumpets: Flutes: Basket-Rattle: Other Instruments. Their Diseases: Effects of the corrupt Air: Malignant Fevers: Dysentery. Offerings of the Sick. Their Fear of Death. Funerals and Mourning.

THE *Whidah*-Negroes are not so eager in Pursuit of Agriculture, as to take no Recreations or Diversions. Their chief Pleasure, of this Kind, is Gaming. *Besman* says, they willingly stake all they have in the World at Play; and, when Money and Goods are wanting, like the *Chinese*, first venture Wife and Children, and then Land and Body.

MARCHAIS observes, that although they are as passionately fond of Gaming as the *Chinese*, they never imitate them in one Article; for, after losing their All, instead of hanging, they stake themselves, and the Winner sells them to the *Europeans*. These Disorders obliged the late King of *Whidah* to forbid all Games of Chance, under Penalty of the Offender's being sold to the Whites. In his Reign this Law was obeyed; but his Successor connived at the Breach of it, though it was hoped, that, when a little settled in his new Authority, he would revive the Prohibition.

THE Natives have several Games of Chance, and others of Exercise. The Number of the first is three.

THE first of these they call *Attropes*, that is, at *five Bujis*. They assemble twelve or fifteen, sitting round a Mat spread on the Ground, each holding in his Hand three *Buji*, with his own Mark. Having settled what they are to play for, which is never under five *Gallinas* of *Bojis*, or about four *Livres*, *French*, the Money is laid

* *Akier*, p. 136, quotes *Bes-*

* *Marchais* adds, and his

* *Marchais*, as before, p. 168.

* *Phil-*

Slav-
Coast.

on the Mat. Then one of the Gamesters takes the three *Bujis* of his next Man, and shaking them, with his own, in his Hand, throws them all fix on the Mat. If three of his *Bujis* appear cast on the Side opposite to those of his Adversary, he wins the Cast; if but one, he loses: If there be two, the Throw passes for nothing, and they begin again, doubling the Stakes. If the second Cast be neutral, they treble the Stake, till one of the Players wins. The Gainer continues to hold against the Table, till he loses himself, and then he can play no more till it comes to his Turn.

Second Game.

THE second Game of Chance is with four *Bujis*, much in the same Manner; only to win there must be two *Bujis* turned on one Side and two on the other, otherwise the Cast is nothing, and the Stake is doubled. This Game is easier than the first. It is a Wonder the *Europeans* have not introduced the Use of Dice here, which would probably prevent many Cheats they practice with their *Bujis*.

Third Game.

THE third Game is played with round Flints, or the Seeds of the Palm, of the Size of an Egg, marked like the *Bujis*. The Number of Players may be three, six, nine, or twelve, each laying his Stake before him. Three of them enter the Lists at once, and whirl their Balls, or Stones, on the Mat, just as the Children in *France* play at Totum. If one of these Balls, in whirling, drives the other two off the Mat, the Player wins both their Stakes; if but one, the Stake of the Person whose Ball it was; if none, they begin again, doubling their Stakes. The Winner plays against two fresh Men, till he loses, or his Hand is out. There is a good deal of Skill in this Game; and the Parties are as silent as those of the *Ridotto* at *Venice*.

Discusson.

THERE is another Game which is not forbid, and is purely an Exercise of Skill and Address. They plant a Stake in the Ground, forty or fifty Paces from the But where the Archers stand; on the Top of it they fix a Ball of light, or soft Wood, about an Inch and an half in Diameter, and lay Wagers who shall hit, or carry-away the Ball, in two, three, five, or seven Shots, and not more. He who misses it, in the Number of Shots given him, loses his Stake, which is never less than the Value of four or five Crowns of Gold in *Bujis*.

THESE are all their Games, at which the Lookers-on often risk more than the Players; and both frequently stake not only their Fortune but their Liberty: For this Reason, the

a late King forbid Gaming under such severe Penalties.

FOR want of other Employment, they assemble beneath the Trees, or in a *Kalde*,^a where they spend whole Days in talking, smoking, and drinking either Palm-Wine or Brandy.^b

AT other Times, they divert themselves with Dancing, Dancing and Singing; the *Whidah*-Blacks, like all others along these Coasts, being passionately fond of those Recreations, which serve to refresh them after the Fatigues of the Day.^c *Phillips* says, they dance untowardly, the whole being only an antic, continued Jumping of one at a Time, with odd Gestures of Head, Arms, and Body.

THEIR Music here is much the same^d, but *Tair Mofé*, far better than that on the *Geld-Coast*. They are likewise much more sober in the Use of them; for in Times of Mourning, they never tease you with the Noise of them.^e

THEIR musical Instruments are Drums, Kettle-Drums, Trumpets or Horns, Flutes, and the like. The Drums are only a Tree hollowed, open at one End, and stopped at the other with a Piece of the same Wood.^f They chuse for these the lightest Wood they can get, and make them about twelve or thirteen Inches in Diameter, and about twenty-two Inches deep. The open End they cover with a Goat's, or Sheep's Skin, well scraped, and fastened on by Cords of Bulrushes, fixed with wooden Pegs. The Drum is encircled with a short Piece of Cloth, or Linnen, like our Kettle-Drums, with a Roll of Cotton Cloth, which fastens it to the Neck of the Drum. They use but one Stick of hard Wood, with a round Knob at the End. The Drummer holds this in his Right-hand, and beats also with his Left, sometimes with his Fingers, and sometimes with his Fist. The Sound of these Drums is dull and heavy. They are very fond of *European* Drums, but cannot bring themselves to use two Sticks in beating.

THE King of *Whidah* has, in his Chamber-Music, a Sort of Kettle-Drums like the former, only larger and longer. Each Drummer has but one, which is not hung about the Neck, but from the Roof of the Chamber by Cords.

THE Trumpets they use are of Ivory, of several Lengths and Diameters. They may rather be called Horns, sounding much like those used by the *French* Cow-herds and Sow-gelders in *Europe*. There is a great deal of Work in one of these Instruments, and a long Time required to make it. These Trumpets yield different Sounds,

^a A Place built for Conversation.
same, p. 205.

^b *Phillips's Voyage*, p. 225.

^c *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 172, & seq.

^d *Boissier's Description of Guinea*, p. 254.

^e See the Figure.

Silver-
Chest.

but none of them harmonious enough to be a of hollow Brass, or Iron, with a Stick, makes a sad Discord and bellowing Noise, like a Company of Bulls¹.

Whidah
Dissonance.

Flute.

THEIR Flutes are Canes of different Length and Diameter, composed of thin Iron Plates folded together, having but one Hole in all the Side. Their different Tones are proportioned to their different Diameters. They are neatly filed, and give a shrill, grating Sound, which none but Negro-Ears could bear.

Ballet-
Rattle.

THE King and Grandees have another musical Instrument. It is an Olier Basket, shaped like a large round Bottle, of about six or eight Inches Diameter, and about ten Inches high, exclusive of the Neck, which is about five Inches long and serves for a Handle. This Basket is filled with Shells, which the Author supposes to be *Byzils*. The Player holds the Neck of this Instrument with his left Hand, and shakes the Shells inclosed, in Time and Measure, striking by Intervals on the Basket with his right Hand. The Sound of these Instruments resembles that of Childrens Parchment Rattles full of Stones.

Other Instru-
ments.

ANOTHER musical Instrument used here is a hollow, Iron Cylinder, of about an Inch in Diameter, twisted spirally about a Stick. The Ends of this Cylinder are open. The Top of the Stick has, for Ornament, the Figure of a Cock in Copper. The other End serves for a Handle, the Player blowing it like a Flute.

A THIRD is a Kind of Drum, the Body of which is an earthen Pot, shaped like a Ball about a Foot Diameter, with a Mouth about six Inches broad, incircled with a Border, or Brim, of an Inch high. This Mouth, or Top, they cover with Parchment, or Skin well scraped, and fasten it on with a Circle, or Hoop of Olier, fixed over the Brim. Only Women play on this Instrument, which they hold before them, squatting on the Ground, and striking the Hollow with a wooden Stick rounded at the End. This they hold in their right Hand, and, at the same Time, with their left Hand, or the Fingers of it, beat on the Skin. This Instrument is no more agreeable than those already mentioned.

IT is surprizing, that the *Europeans* settled at *Whidah*, particularly the *French* who have introduced Luxury in their Furniture, and Elegance at their Tables, have not been able to bring in Repose here their Music and Harmony: Nothing would be easier, for the People have a good Taste and a nice Ear².

WE shall conclude our Account of the *Whidah* Music, with the Remark of *Phillips*, That four or five *Negroes* blowing through hollow Elephants Teeth, joined with one who beats a Piece

of hollow Brass, or Iron, with a Stick, makes a sad Discord and bellowing Noise, like a Company of Bulls¹.

THE Whites, or *Europeans*, are subject to several Diseases here. The chief are the Fleth- Worms, before-mentioned³, which are harder to be cured in them than the *Negroes*. In some they have not appeared till a Year, or fifteen Months, after their Return to *Europe*⁴.

SMITH says, that the Air of *Whidah* is terribly unhealthy, and especially since, by the King of *Dahome's* Cruelty, being depopulated, and the Ground lying uncultivated, it is overgrown with rank, poisonous Weeds⁵.

ACCORDING to *Marchais*, the Malignity of the *Whidah* Air is manifest from the Dews which fall on the Deck before Sun-rise, which have been observed to produce immediately small Insects resembling Lizards, Toads, and Serpents. It is true, the Heat of the Sun dries, or dissipates them in a Moment; but, notwithstanding, the Air having its Particles so corrupted, must produce bad and pestilential Effects on those who are all Night exposed to it, by lying, for the Sake of Coolness, on Deck. The best Remedy is to keep close and covered from the Air; to have the Head and Breast well cloathed; to live temperately, abstaining from strong Liquors, Women, and the Country Fruits, and to shun, as much as possible, all hard Labour in the Heat of the Day. The *Negroes*, who are used to it, can bear the Sun-beams bare-headed, but the *Europeans* feel their Brains scorched so as to bring on burning Fevers, with raging Deliriums, which usually are mortal in three Days. Such Captains as would preserve their Crews cannot be too watchful over their Conduct.

THESE malignant Fevers rage most in *June*, *Malague*, *July* and *August*, discovering themselves by great Pains in the Head and Reins, Inclination to vomit, Bleeding at the Nose, insupportable Drought, and a Dryness of the Tongue which makes it quite black. The most successful Method of Cure the *Chevalier des Marchais* experienced, was as follows: He began by purging the Patient with an Infusion of *Sena*, six Grains of *Sibiate-Tartar*⁶, and an Ounce of Syrop of *Roses*. After this, cooling Glisters were applied, and repeated till the Fever abated. In the Interval, the Patient was bled in the Foot, to prevent the Delirium, which always happens the third Day. Sometimes there is a Necessity of applying Cupping-Glasses, or Blisters. The ordinary Drink of the Patient should be Barley, or Liquorice Water, with a small Addition of purified Nitre.

¹ *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 197, & seq. p. 676.

² *Marchais*, as before, p. 121.

³ *Phillips's Voyage*, p. 223.
⁴ *Smith's Voyage*, p. 199.

⁵ See Vol. II.
⁶ *Tartar Stibit.*

After

Slave-
Coast.

After the Danger is over, purge the Patient with a Manna and Syrup of Roles, in two Glasses, to be taken alternately every Hour.

Dysentery.

Besides these burning Fevers, which are always malignant, and intermitting Fevers, which are cured as in *Europe*, but frequently mortal, Dysenteries are very common here, thought to be owing to their Fruits and Water; but *Labat* thinks them rather occasioned by Excess in Brandy and strong Liquors. This is the most difficult Distemper to cure, as it attacks Strangers at all Seasons of the Year. It is commonly either a Consequence of intermitting Fevers, or occasioned by Excess in eating the Country Fruit, or drinking Spring, or River-Water immoderately, or the too free Use of spirituous Liquors. The Method of Cure here, is to purge the Patient every three Days with pure Rhubarb, either taken in Bolus or in Broth, repeating it till the peccant Humour decreases: Then add to the Rhubarb, six Grains of fine Catholicon, not forgetting to apply every Day astringent and softening Glis-

TERS. THEY also use against this Disease, with great Success, the Root of the *Simarouba*, (in the *Lessward Isles* called *Bitter-Wood*) which is employed as a Specific against this Disorder by the Savages of *Cayenne*; from whence a *French* Jesuit sent it to *F. Seile*, Apothecary of their College at *Paris*, who kept it as a Secret with which he performed wonderful Cures.

Offerings of
the Sick.

BUT it is not in Medicine that are placed the greatest Hopes of the *Widab* Negros, who, in Case of Sickness, exceed those of the *Gold-Coast* in the Number of Offerings to their *Fetich*, this last being the Employment of several entire Days. The Remedies are the same with those on the *Gold-Coast*, but the Offerings are very different: Here each Person reserves a Place under the open Air, set apart for that Purpose, and hedged about with Reeds and other Trash. In this consecrated Place they continually sacrifice, in order to obtain Health and Prosperity.

Their Fear
of Death.

THEY are so very fearful of Death, that they do not like to hear it mentioned, lest that should

hasten it. It is a capital Crime to speak of it before the King or any great Man. *Bezman* being upon his Departure the first Voyage, asked the King, who owed him about an hundred Pounds *Sterling*, concerning the Payment, in case of his Death, at the Author's Return: All in the Presence were amazed at the Question; but the King, who understood a little *Portuguese*, considering him to be ignorant of their Customs, answered smiling, *You ought not to give yourself any Uneasiness about it; for I shall not die, but always live.* *Bezman* perceiving he had been guilty of some Blunder, took his Leave, and when he got home, the Captain told him, it was Death for any one to speak of Death in the King's Presence, much more to talk of his own Dying. However, in his second and third Voyage, growing more familiar with his Majesty and his Grandees, he frequently ridiculed their vain Fear of Death; and so much used them to talk about it, that, in Time, they began to laugh at it themselves, especially the King, (who is a very boon Companion) when the Author frightened any one of his Captains with Death; but no Negro will venture to open his Lips on that Subject.

Which
Event.

THE Grandees bury their Fathers in a Gallery made on Purpose. The Corpse is placed in the Middle. On the Grave they lay the Buckler, Bow and Arrows, and Sabre of the Deceased, and surround these with his own and other Family-*Fetiches*. The more numerous these are, the grander is the Mausoleum. Though they use Guns and Pistols, yet they never place these on the Tombs.

Funerals and
Mourning.

WHAT the Heir observes invariably at the Father's Death, is, to continue twelve entire Months before he inhabits the House the Deceased lived in, and to abstain, the same Time, from enjoying his Father's Wives. During this Term, these latter must dwell apart, quit their usual Dress, and wear neither Necklaces, Rings, nor Bracelets; being only allowed a *Pagne* of Mat, by Way of Mourning.

* *Marchant's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 121, & seq.

* *Marchant*, as before, p. 168, & seq.

* *Bezman's Description of Guinea*, p. 250, & seq.

C H A P. V.

The Religion of the Whidah Blacks.

S E C T. I.

*Their Notion of GOD; with their Fetiches,
publick and private.*

*They believe in one God: Their Idea of him. No-
tion of Hell. Circumcision. Their chief Fe-
tiches. The Trees, or Groves: Sacrifices offered
to them. The Sea: Procession made to it; and
to the Eufrates. Agave, their Oracle: Way
of consulting him. Inferior and private Fe-
tiches: assumed at Pleasure. Attempts, to con-
vert the Whidah Negroes, fruitless: The first
Mission: The second: A third Attempt.*

*Believe in
one God.*

THE Religion of *Whidah*, according to *Bosman*, is founded only on a Principle of Interest, and Superstition, above all he had ever heard of; for if the Heathens, says he, had thirty thousand Deities, the People of this Country may justly lay Claim to four Times that Number. However, he says, it is certain that the *Whidah* Negroes have a faint Idea of a true God, ascribing to him the Attributes of Almighty Power and Omnipresence. They believe he created the Universe, and therefore prefer him before their *Fetiches*; but they do not pray to him, or offer him any Sacrifices, for which they give the following Reasons: God, say they, is too high exalted above us, and too great to condescend to think of Mankind; wherefore he commits the Government of the World to our *Fetiches*, to whom, as the second, third, and fourth Persons distant in Degree from God, and our appointed lawful Governors, we are obliged to apply ourselves. And in firm Belief of this Opinion they quietly continue^a.

As this is the very same Apology which the *Romish* Church and Priests make for their Images, it is plain, as *Loyer* has already observed, that they consider their *Fetiches*, only as material Objects qualified with certain Virtues and Powers, by the supreme Deity, for the Benefit of his Creatures.

*Their Idea
of a God.*

MARCHAIS says, the wisest of the *Whidah*-Grander have a confused Idea of the Existence

of one God, whom they place in the Heavens, and say, he rewards the Good and punishes the Bad; that it is he who makes it thunder, and that the Whites, who know and serve him, are happier than they, who serve the Devil, a Being naturally wicked and inclined to Mischief: Yet they dare not forsake their old Religion, for fear of the Populace rising and killing them. From hence may be seen how little the Missionaries have to hope here^b.

BUT, in another Place, afterwards, the same Author, speaking of the *Whidah* Negroes in general, confirms *Bosman's* Account, saying, that they acknowledge one supreme Being^c, Creator of all Things; who, they believe, resides in Heaven, from whence he governs the World, and is infinitely good and just. But he affirms also, that in public Calamities they have Recourse to him: After they have, in vain, addressed the Serpent, they call on this superior God, and spend whole Days and Nights in singing and dancing to his Honour, and not only sacrifice Animals but young Persons of both Sexes. Within the present Memory, Captain *Assau*, now living, offered to the God of Heaven, a Sacrifice of Men and Children, to obtain his Father's Recovery^d.

They have a Sort of Notion of Hell, the Devil, and the Apparition of Spirits. As for Hell, they bestow on it a fixed Place under the Earth, where the Wicked and Damned are punished with Fire. For these three or four Years last past they have been very much confirmed in this Belief; for an old Sorcerer, who came from some odd Corner, has told them strange Things of Hell; as that she saw several of her Acquaintance there, and particularly the late Captain^e of the Blacks, Captain *Carton's* Predecessor, who was there miserably tormented^f.

THOUGH neither *Jesus* nor *Mahomedans*, *Circumcise*, they practise Circumcision, as hath been already remarked; but without much Ceremony, and not with half the Solemnity it is practised by the *Sanaga* Negroes. When their Children are strong enough to undergo the Operation, they carry them to the Negro Surgeon; and the Father holding the Child across his Knees, the Operator

^a In the Original, Idol-Gods; which Words, *Gods* and *Idols*, *Bosman* always uses to denote their *Fetiches*.
^b *Bosman's* Description of *Guinea*, p. 367, & seq.
^c *Loyer's* Account of *Assau*, Vol. II. p. 440, of this Collection.
^d *Marchais's* Voyage, vol. 1. p. 129.
^e *Marchais*, as before, p. 215.
^f Or

Steele's
Dust.

takes hold of the Fore-skin, or Prepuce, and having freed it from the Glans, cuts it off, and washes it with cold Water to stop the Bleeding. This is the whole Ceremony. The Wound generally heals in three Days, without any farther Application. They give no Reason for this Rite, nor any Account of its Introduction amongst them, farther than that their Ancestors did so, and therefore they ought to do the same.

Their chief
Fetishes.

THE *Fetishes* of the *Whidah* Blacks may be divided into two Classes, superior and inferior, or public and private. The *Fetishes* of the public and superior Kind, according to *Marchais*, are four, viz. the Serpent, the Trees, the Sea, and *Agoye*; to these might be added a fifth, the River *Eufrates*, which crosses *Whidah*. *Bosman* and *Atkins* reckon but three principal *Fetishes*, not mentioning *Agoye*. The Serpent, or Snake, is the chief of all their *Fetishes*: But as we intend to give an Account at large of this Animal and its Worship, in the following Sections, we shall say no more of it here.

The Trees, or
Groves.

THEIR second Kind of public *Fetishes* are some lassy Trees, in the Formation of which Dame Nature seems to have bestowed the greatest Art. These Trees are only prayed-to and presented with Offerings in Time of Sickness, more especially Fevers, for the Restoration of Health. This they believe as properly to be the Business of the Trees as the Snake's; but then the Snake must not be forgotten: For they imagine, (and that truly enough) if he does you no Good, he will do you no Harm.

BESIDES this, they have other imaginary Remedies at Hand to cure Diseases: Such as sacrificing to several inferior *Fetishes*, or killing and eating Part of a Man, which was practised two or three Times on account of the present King's Sickness; likewise several other Extravagancies, too tedious to be repeated.

Sacrifices
offered.

THE Sacrifices offered by the Sick to the Trees, according to *Marchais*, are Loaves of Millet, Maiz, or Rice. These the Priest places at the Foot of the Tree the Patient has a Devotion for; after which, he takes them home, if the Patient does not give him Money to leave them till the Dogs, Hogs, or Birds devour them.

ATKINS supposes, that the Groves are addressed to on some peculiar Occasions, or rather, that they are consecrated to the Snake; most of them having a square Tower built in a retired Part of it, to which they carry *Dahbis* and Presents. There is one in the Neighbourhood (of *Sabie*) pre-eminent to all in the Country, to

which the Prince and People annually make rich Offerings.

Whidah
Religion.

The Sea.

THE third public *Fetish* is the Sea, which, as well as the Trees, has his peculiar Province, like the Officers of a King: But neither of them must interfere with that of the Snake, which, on the contrary, has a Power to correct the other two, when idle or lazy.

WHEN the Sea rages so as to hinder the Natives from fishing, or the Europeans from landing their Goods; when no Ships have been there for a long Time, and they impatiently wait for them; on these Occasions, they make great Offerings to it, by throwing into it all Sorts of Goods. But the Priests do not much encourage this Sort of Sacrificing, since there is nothing left for them.

THE former King of *Great Ardra*, once caused a great Quantity of these Offerings to be made to the Sea; and, when he was informed by his Subjects, (for he must not see the Sea himself) that they all availed nothing, he grew very angry, and fell into as wild a Fury as *Xerxes*, who caused the Sea to be whipped for his Misfortune upon it.

MARCHAIS observes, that when it is so stormy as to hinder Trade, the grand Sacrifice is consulted, and, according to his Answer, a Procession is made to the Sea; where an Ox or Sheep is killed on the Shore, letting the Blood flow into the Water, and casting a Gold-Ring into the Sea as far as a Man can throw it. The Ring (which however is very slight) and Blood are lost. The Carcass of the Beast offered, belongs to the grand Sacrificer, who disposes of it as he thinks fit.

THERE is another yearly Procession made to the *Eufrates*, the chief River of *Whidah*, and looked-on as a *Fetish*; but it is not so grand as that to the Serpent, hereafter described. It is led by forty Guards, or Musketeers, followed by eighteen of the King's Wives, of the third Order, carrying the King's Presents: The grand Master of the Ceremonies, as his Proxy, follows alone, attended by twenty Drums, twenty Trumpets, and twenty Flutes, of the royal Music. The grand Sacrificer, attended by his Priests, waits at the River-side, where he receives the Presents, and casts them into the River, with the usual Ceremonies, the Part allotted to the *Fetish*, being some Handfuls of Rice, Maiz, and Millet; but he keeps the rest wisely to himself.

AGOYE, the fourth and last public *Fetish*, is an ugly, Monkey-like Image of black Earth, or Clay, resembling a Frog, rather than a human

* *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 1. p. 127.

* *Bosman's Description of Guinea*, p. 368, and 381.

* *Atkins's*

ibid., as before, vol. 2. p. 131.

* *Atkins's Voyage*, p. 118.

* *Bosman*, as before, p. 368.

* The

Game, p. 383.

* In the Original, a Divinity.

* *Marchais*, as before, p. 160, & seq.

Form.

Stone
Court.

Form*. It is placed, or rather squatted, on a Kind of Pedestal of red Clay, on which is a Slip of red Cloth, bordered with *Bajis*; about the Neck is a Band of scarlet Cloth, a Finger broad, at which hang four *Bajis*: The Head is crowned with Lizards and Serpents, intermixed with red Feathers; and from the Top issues the Iron of an *Affagaye*, that goes through a larger Lizard, beneath which is a Silver Crescent. This Idol is on a Table in the House of the grand Sacrificer; before it stand three wooden Bowls, or half Kalabashes, in one of which are fifteen, or twenty small earthen Balls.

They of con-
fession.

THIS *Agaye*, is the Image, or Idol of Councils, whom, as an Oracle, they usually advise with before any Undertaking. Those who consult this *Fetich*, address themselves to the Sacrificer, telling him the Cause of their Coming; after which they present their Offering to *Agaye*, and give the Priest, who is his Interpreter, his Fee. If the Priest be satisfied, he takes the Bowls, and, after several Grimaces, which the Querist beholds very respectfully, he throws the Balls, at Random, out of one Bowl into another, till there appear an odd Number in each. He repeats this several Times, and if the odd Number still comes-out, the Undertaking is declared prosperous. But although the Negroes often find to the contrary, yet their Prepossession is such, that they always lay the Blame on themselves, not on *Agaye*. The Women are the best Customers to this Oracle, whose Priest makes a good Hand of his Puppet, which is about eighteen Inches high, the Crown over it a Foot high, and the Pedestal as much*.

YET, for all *Agaye* is so ready to assist the Negroes with his Advice, there are no public Processions made to him any more than to the Trees. Those who address these two public *Fetiches* on their private Account, put their Offerings into the Hands of the Priests, who know their Trade too well, says *Labat*, not to make a good Use of the Trust*.

Inform and
private Fe-
tiches.

BESIDES the above-mentioned public and common *Fetiches*, the *Whidah* Negroes have an innumerable Multitude of Images, each private Person assuming as many as he pleases. These are usually made, according to *Barbot*, of fat Mold, or of white Porters Clay*, and are to be seen in great Numbers in their Houses, Chambers, Fields, the Roads, and the Foot-Paths all over the Country, under proper Huts and Niches;

besides a vast Quantity of other Clay Huts, erected in all Parts, to deposit such Snakes as, by Chance, they meet on the Road. These Huts they call, after the Portuguese, *Casas de Dios*, or God's Houses*.

THIS inferior *Fetich*, used for smaller Concerns, are made of Stone, Bone, Wood, or Earth; but herein they differ, says *Aldina*, from other Negroes: That this small *Fetich* is the first Thing they see after they are determined upon any Affair, or Business, and sometimes determines them to that Affair. On this Account it is taken-up and invoked: If they succeed, it is laid-by in Honour to the chief Idol, and deposited now and then; but if not, they throw it away*.

THIS agrees with a Relation which *Besman* had from a sensible Negro of his Acquaintance, who told him, that if one of them is resolved to undertake any Thing of Importance, he goes-out immediately to look for a *Fetich*, in order to prosper his Design, and takes the first Creature he meets with, a Dog, Cat, or the most contemptible Animal; and for want of such, a Stone, a Piece of Wood, or any Thing of the same Nature. This new-chosen *Fetich*, continued he, is immediately presented with an Offering, accompanied with a solemn Vow, that if he pleases to prosper our Undertakings for the future, we will always worship and esteem him as a Patron: If our Designs prove successful, we have discovered a new and assisting *Fetich*, which is daily presented with fresh Offerings; but if the contrary, he is rejected as an useless Tool, and dwindles into his private Estate*.

THE Chevalier des Marchais, in his several Attempts at Voyages made to *Whidah*, observed, that the Negroes here were well disposed to embrace the *Romish* Religion, notwithstanding their Ignorance, and their Libertinism with regard to Women*. On the contrary, *Besman* declares, that Polygamy is an Obstacle they can never get over. He allows all other Impediments might be removed, but that Confinement to one Wife is an insuperable Difficulty*.

THEIR Belief in one God appeared so promising to the French settled here in 1666, that M. du Cassé, in the Ship *Tempest*, carried-over two *Cappuchin* Missionaries in 1667. These Priests having learned the Language of the Country, preached with such Success, that the King was disposed to receive the *Romish* Faith; which mult

Whidah
Religion.

Offered as
Fetich.

convert.

* See the Figure.
p. 129, & seq.

as before, p. 161.

* *Aldina's Voyage*, p. 118, & seq.

Aldina, as before, p. 215.

* In the Original, the God of Councils.

* *Labat* knows this, by the Practice of his own Brethren.

* *Marchais*, vol. 2. p. 153.

* *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 341.

* *Besman's Description of Guinea*, p. 367, & seq.

* *Besman*, as before, p. 385.

* *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2.

* *Marchais*,

* *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 341.

* *Marchais*,

Slave-
Coast.The first
Mission.

have been followed by the entire Conversion of a the People, had not the Protestants, established here, believed their Commerce would be ruined by such an Event. Hereupon they caballed so strongly, and made such Presents to the black Priests, that they excited an Insurrection against the two white Priests. On the very Evening before the King was to have been baptized, the People rose, fired the Chapel, beset the King's Palace, and would have murdered the Capuchins, if they had not been sheltered by his Majesty; b who yet, alarmed by the Revolt, promised his Priests to continue firm in the Religion of his Ancestors, and send away the Missionaries, one of whom died a few Days after of Grief, or Poison; the other was obliged to embark, which restored Peace.

The second.

In 1670, the French Company of 1664 sent over two Jacobins on a second Attempt, well furnished with Necessaries, and instructed in the Language: But the same Europeans formed so strong an Opposition, that the Missionaries could never obtain Audience of the King or Grandees, nor be heard by the People when they attempted to preach. Soon after they died, poisoned like the Capuchin. This was the last Attempt (of the French,) so that now there is only a Chaplain who serves the Factory here.

A third At-
tempt.

Now have the Portuguese, it may be presumed, been less zealous to propagate their Religion than the French. While Bosman was at Whidah, (in 1698, or 1699) there came an Augustin Monk from St. Thomas to convert the Negroes, but in vain, for the Reason already mentioned.

The Priest having invited the King to Mass, next Time the Author saw that Prince, he asked him how he liked it, he said very well, and it was very fine; but that he chose to keep to his *Fetich*.

The Priest, in Bosman's Company, discoursing with one of the King's Grandees, who was a Man of Wit, said, in a mocking Manner, *That if the People of Whidah continued their old Course of Life, without Repentance, they would inevitably go to Hell, there to burn with the Devil.* To which the Statesman replied coolly, *We are not better than our Ancestors, who observed the same Sort of Worship; if we must burn therefore, we shall comfort ourselves with their Company.* The Augustin, after this, finding all his Pains to no Purpose, got the Author to introduce him to an Audience of Leave from his Majesty, and departed shortly after.

Of the Snake, the principal Fetich of Whidah.

The Snake described. Not poisonous. Their Bite reckoned a Charm. Origin of the Snake, and his Worship in Whidah. Temple built to it. Still living. Death to kill one. Tragical Instance. Creep into Houses. Story of one. Massacre of Hogs. Care to preserve Snakes. Story of a Snake. Another. They are feared and revered.

THE Snake or Serpent, which is the principal Priests or Object of Worship among the Whidah Negroes, has a round big Head; the Eyes are open and beautiful; their Tongue is short, pointed like a Dart, and unless when they attack a venomous Snake, their Motion is slow: Their Tail is slender and sharp, their Skin beautiful, the Ground being a dirty White, with waved Strakes or Spots of Yellow, Blue, and Brown, agreeably intermixed. They are very gentle, to that if you tread on them, they will get-out of the Way without turning on you again.

BOSMAN says, this Species of Serpents are streaked with White, Yellow, and Brown, and the biggest the Author had seen here, is about a Fathom long, and as thick as a Man's Arm.

THESE Reptiles are very great Lovers of Rats Flesh. The Author had often observed their Rat-Chase with Pleasure; but when they have caught their Prey, it is an Hour's Work to swallow it, they have such narrow Throats, which he had observed to stretch on this Occasion.

WHEN one of these Snakes are under the Tiling of an House, he cannot disengage himself quick enough to catch a Rat which passes him. This the Rat seems to know; for, says the Author, I have seen them run by one thus engaged an hundred Times, and even mock him while he kissed and used all his Might to come at them, but too late.

THEY hurt no-body, are so tame as to hear being handled, and seem to have no Enmity but against those venomous Serpents, whose Bite is dangerous. These they destroy wherever they meet them, and seem to take a Pleasure in delivering Mankind from their Pests. Not only the Negroes but the Whites handle these harmless Serpents, and play with them, without the least Danger.

^a *Morche's Voyage*, vol. 1. p. 216, & seq.

^c *Morche's*, as before, p. 236.

^b *Bosman's Description of Guinea*, p. 385, & 39.

^d *Bosman*, as before, p. 380.

Slime-
Coat.

THERE is no Danger of mistaking this good a Species of Snakes from the others. The venomous Kind are all black, about two Fathom long, and an Inch and an half in Diameter. They have a flat Head, with two large crooked Teeth. These creep always with their Head erected, and Mouth open, attacking furiously all they meet. They seem to be of the true Vipour Kind, like those of *Martinico*, *St. Lucia*, and *Begnia*.

THE sacred Serpent is not usually so long as the other, being but about seven Foot and an half in Length, but he is as thick as a Man's Leg. The Author excepts the Parent of this Breed, who, if he be living, (as the Negroes say) must be of a prodigious Size.

Their Bite a
Charm.

ACCORDING to *Bosman*, these Snakes can neither bite nor sting to hurt any-body. The Negroes aver, that their Bite or Sting is a Charm against the Sting of any poisonous ones: But the Author was loth to venture much on their Credit, since the Snake cannot save himself harmless in that Case; for sometimes there is a pleasant Battle between the tame and venomous Snake, who falls upon the former when he comes in his Way.

BUT though he is both larger, and armed also with stronger Weapons than the other, yet he always comes off with the worst, being sure to be set upon by a Legion or two of the Idolaters, who punish his Insolence with certain Death.

SNELGRAVE says, that one Reason the *Whidab* Negroes give for worshipping this *Fetish*, is its harmless Nature; so that if it is accidentally trod on (for it is a capital Crime to do it wilfully) and bites, no bad Effect ensues.

Snake-Wor-
ship, Origin-

ACCORDING to *Bosman*, the People of *Whidab* report, that they found this Snake a great Number of Years past; when, by reason of the Wickedness of the Inhabitants, he left another Country to come to them; overjoyed at which they welcomed their new-come God with all expressible Signs of Reverence and high Veneration, and carried him on a Silken Carpet to the Snake-House, where he is at present. *Marchois* is more particular in his Account. It is certain, says he, this Animal came originally from *Ardra*; although it is not known when its Worship was first introduced here. The Army of *Whidab*, according to that Author, being ready to give Battle to the Forces of *Ardra*, a large Serpent issued from among the latter, and repaired to the former. It appeared so tame, that it caressed all who came near it. The grand Sacrificer took it and lifted it up to show it to the

Army; who, encouraged by this Predigy, protested themselves to the gentle Animal, and fell on the Enemies with such Courage, that they gained a complete Victory. They did not fail to ascribe this Success to the Serpent, whom they carried home with Honour, built it a House, and assigned it a Maintenance: So that, in a short Time, this new *Fetish* was revered beyond all the rest, which had till then been in Vogue; and his Worship daily increased in Proportion to the Benefits which his Devotes imagined they received from him. The three former Divinities had their separate Provinces; for a good Fishery they addressed the Sea; for Health they applied to the Trees; for Advice to *Agays*: But the Serpent now prelied over all Trade, War, Agriculture, Diseases, Barrenness, &c. His first House was thought too mean, and a new Temple erected more spacious, with large Courts and Apartments kept in good Order, and well furnished. He had also appointed him a grand Sacrificer, and an Order of *Fetishmen* to serve him. Some beautiful Virgins were also annually chosen and consecrated to him. What is remarkable is, that the *Whidab* Negroes are persuaded the Serpent they now worship (in the Temple, or Snake-House, near *Sabi*) is really the same, whom their Ancestors brought home; and who gained them that notable Victory, which delivered them from the Tyranny of the King of *Ardra*. The Posterity of this kind Serpent has greatly multiplied, and have no Way degenerated from his good Qualities.

THESE Serpents, though not so much honoured as their Chief, are greatly respected by the People, who lodge and feed them, and believe themselves happy when they meet with such Guests. They treat them with Milk, and if it be a Female, they build it a Box to bring forth its Young in, and feed them till they can shift for themselves.

As they are harmless, no-body hurts them. If a Negro or White should wound or kill one, it would raise a general Insurrection. If the Criminal were a Negro, he would be knocked on the Head, or burnt on the Spot, and all his Wives, Children, and Effects confiscated. If it was a White, and he was saved from the Fury of the Populace, it would cost the Nation he belonged to a round Sum to make it up.

ON one Occasion there happened a tragical Accident recorded by *Bosman* and *Barbot*. At the first Settling of the English in *Whidab*, a Captain of that Country having landed, and housed his Cargo, his Men found one Night a

Whidab
Religion.

They built.

Still Feared.

Death to it.

no.

* *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 135, & seq.

* *Barbot's Voyage*, p. 47.

Marabou, for *Marbout*, as *Marchais* or *Labat* always erroneously calls them.

& seq. *Bosman*, p. 376, says, if a Black should barely touch any one of them with a Stick, or any Way hurt it, he would be condemned to the Flames.

* *Bosman's Description of Guinea*, p. 379, & seq.

* *Bosman's Description of Guinea*, p. 370.

* In the Original,

* *Marchais*, as before, p. 133,

* *Marchais*, as before, p. 133, & seq. *Bosman*, p. 376, says, if a Black should barely touch any one of them with a Stick, or any Way hurt it, he would be condemned to the Flames.

Snake

Slave-
Coast.Tropical In-
fluence.

Snake in the Lodge, which they immediately a killed, and threw-out before the Door, meaning no Harm, and not in the least dreaming of the Consequences. The Blacks next Morning seeing the dead Snake, and the *English* as innocently owning they had killed it, the Natives massacred all who were in the Lodge, and set Fire to it, with all the Goods in it.

DETERRED by this Cruelty, the *English* forbore trading here for some Time; during which Interval the Negroes took-up a Custom of shewing the *Europeans*, at first Coming, some Snakes, and desiring they would not hurt them, by reason they were sacred. This has prevented all such Accidents ever since: But if a White should happen to kill one, the only Way would be to fly to the King and satisfy him, that it was not done designedly. By this Means perhaps he might atone for his Fault, by a Fine to the Priests: Although the Author says he should not care to run the Hazard, the Rabble, infligated by the Priests, growing on such Occasions very outrageous.

In his Time an *Aquambo*-Negro took a Snake upon his Stick, because he durst not touch it with his Hands, and carried it out of the House without hurting it in the least; which two or three Negroes seeing, set-up the Cry usually made in case of Fire, by which they can quickly raise the whole Country. Accordingly great Crowds flocked to the Place armed with Clubs, Swords, d Afflagayes, and other Weapons; who would soon have dispatched the poor *Aquambo*-Black, if the King, acquainted with his Innocence, had not timely sent some of his great Men to protect him.

Crest into
Houses.

FOR these Reasons People are deterred from meddling with these Creatures, notwithstanding they frequently molest them; for in hot Sun-shine Weather they visit you five or six together, crawling upon the Chairs, Benches, Tables, and even Beds: Under which, if they meet with a good snug Place, in case your Servants, out of Laziness, do not turn-up your Beddings, they sometimes remain six or seven Days, and perhaps will cast their Young there.

HOWEVER, to get rid of them at any Time, you need only call any of the Natives, who gently carries his *Fetish* out of Doors: But if they happen to get on the Joists, or any high Part of the Houses, (which are here but one Story) it is not so easy to prevail on the Negroes to remove them for you; so that you are often obliged to let them stay there till they come-out of themselves.

Whidah
Religion.

ACCORDING to *Barbot*, when a Snake gets into a Black's House, he sends for the next Priest, who carries the Reptile to a Snake-House; and if asked where they design to carry it, they answer, that the Snake will direct them. But if it be allowable for a Native to take it out of the House of a White, we see no Reason why he might not carry it from his own.

A SNAKE once placed himself over the Table ^{Story of one.} where *Bosman* always dined, and though he could easily touch him, yet no Person could be found who would venture to take him away; but he was very well paid afterwards for his Lodging: For some of the great Men of *Whidah* dining with him one Day, and happening to talk about the Snakes, *Bosman*, glancing his Eye to that which was over their Heads, told them, that not having eaten any thing in fourteen Days, he must certainly at last die with Hunger, if he did not speedily remove his Quarters. His Guests answered, that although he was not aware of it, the Snake undoubtedly had Part of his Victuals out of the Dishes, which he knew how to come at. *Bosman* took the Hint, and next Day told the King, in Presence of the same Persons, that one of his *Fetishes* had made bold, uninvited, to eat at his Table for fourteen Days: Adding, that it was but reasonable he should be paid for his Board, otherwise he should be obliged to discharge his House of this bold Intruder. The King, who was always diverted with such Sort of Discourse, desired him to let the Snake remain where he was, and promised to provide for them both; which he did, by sending *Bosman* a very fine fat Ox the same Evening.

NOR are the Brutes, who kill or hurt the Snakes, exempted from Punishment more than the rational Species.

IN 1697, a Hog having been bitten by a Snake, ^{Massacre of} in Revenge seized and devoured him in Sight of the Negroes, (and Mr. *Nicholas Pall*, the Dutch Factor) who were not near enough to prevent him. Upon this, Complaint was made to the King, and the Hogs having no Advocate to defend their Cause, the sanguine Priests obtained an Order from his Majesty, that all the bristly Race should be forthwith extirpated throughout his Dominions. Immediately Thousands of Blacks were seen armed with Swords and Clubs to execute the cruel Proclamation, while, on the other Hand, the Hogs Owners, armed in their Defence, urging their Innocence, but all in vain; and doubting the whole Race had been utterly destroyed, if the King (who was not naturally bloody-minded) had not sent-out a Countermarch,

* *Bosman's Description of Guinea*, p. 376; and *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 341.
as before, p. 377, & seq.

* *Barbot*, as before, p. 342.

* *Bosman*, as before, p. 378, & seq.
with

slave-
Coast.

with this Reason for it, that there was already a innocent Blood enough shed, and that the *Petish* ought to be appeased with so rich a Sacrifice.

other Europeans; and it was with great Difficulty, and by considerable Presents, that they were so far appeased as to suffer the Portuguese to continue in the Country.

Wildah
Religion.

Cave to pre-
serve Snakes.

NEXT Time the Author was at *Whidah*, he found there had been another great Slaughter of them; on which Occasion he observes, that these Sorts of Tyrannies are frequent under despotic Governments, where the Priests are joint Masters. In the Time when the Maiz is green, and about a Foot high, the Owners of Hogs are obliged to keep them close-up, under Penalty of their being killed; and as this is the Season the Serpents lay their Young, which they generally do in the green Corn-Fields, so if the Hogs get loose at this Time, they do a double Mischief, both trampling the Maiz, and eating the Serpents. The King at this Season therefore sends his Valets abroad, who kill without Mercy all the Hogs they find, and sell their Carcases for their own Profit: So that these Orders are generally well obeyed.

THE black Serpents kill and devour many of them, without any Regard to their pretended sacredness, as well as the Hogs; and indeed, as these tame Snakes live long and increase much, they would soon cover the Country if they had not Enemies.

Story of a
Snake.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Negroes see that this Animal is liable to Accidents, and to be killed like other Creatures, yet they are silly enough to believe certain Stories invented by the Priests, to keep-up a Veneration for it. *Marchais* relates two calculated for that Purpose. The first is concerning a Portuguese, who was at *Whidah* a little before his Arrival there. This Person, it seems, out of Curiosity, intended to carry one of these Serpents to *Brazil*. His Ship being ready to sail, he got one privately put into a Box, and embarked with his Prize in a Canoe of the Bar, which was to carry him to his Boat. Though the Sea was calm, yet the Canoe made *Gribon*, that is, overturned, and the Portuguese was drowned. The Negroes having recovered their Canoe, returned ashore with the Box, which they broke-open in Hopes of Plunder; but what was their Confusion, when, instead of Merchandise, they found their *Petish*! By their Outcries the People were soon informed of what happened, and of the Sacrilege the Portuguese had committed: But as the Offender was dead, the Priests and Populace fell-on the Portuguese, plundered their Magazines, massacred all of that Nation, who could not escape Time enough to the

THE second History on this Subject is no less surprizing. An Englishman newly landed, finding one of these Snakes on his Bed, and being ignorant of his harmless Quality, as well as of the Consequences of what he did, killed it. As it was Night no-body had seen it, and yet in less than a Quarter of an Hour the most dreadful Clamours were heard round the Factory. The Populace were ready to force the Gate, crying-out, that a Wretch had killed their *Petish*. The Director rising, made the young Man escape privately to the French Factory; and while his Servants buried the Snake, went to appease the enraged Populace, promising to punish the Person they accused, if they could prove he had killed their *Petish*, and allowed two or three of their Priests to search. The Priests being admitted, went directly to the Place, as if they had dug the Hole themselves, and took-out the Serpent: So that the Director was forced, by large Bribes, to secure their Silence, and gain Time to give the Captain-Protector of the Nation and the King Notice, who ordered the *Gongon* to be beaten, and the People to retire. When the Tumult was over, the Priests carried-off the Serpent, and buried him with the Ceremonies usual on such Occasions.

In short, the Negroes preserve a profound Fear and Reverence for the Snakes. When Rains are wanted at Seed-Time, or dry Weather in Harvest, the People do not stir-out after Night comes-on, for fear of the angry Snake; which, provoked by their Disobedience, they are taught to believe, will certainly kill them at those Times, if abroad, or make them Idiots.

WHEN you want to be rid of the Natives Company, you need only speak ill of the Snake, and they stop their Ears and run-out of Doors. But this Device must only be used by such Europeans as they like, for another would run a great Risk in doing it.

If a Fire breaks-out, in which one of these Snakes happens to be burnt, all that hear of it stop their Ears, and give Money to reconcile them to the consumed *Petish*, of whom they have been so careless; since they believe he will quickly return and revenge himself on those who have been the Occasion of his Death.

* *Bosman*, p. 381, copied by *Marchais*, vol. 2. p. 143.

* The same, p. 337, & *Jegg*.
p. 381.

Atkins's Voyage, p. 114.

Marchais's Voyage, vol. 2. p. 141, & *seq*.
* *Bosman's Description of Guinea*,

S E C T. III.

Of the Snake-Houses, and Worships.

Snake-Houses, or Temples. The chief Temple near Sabi. Invocations. Offerings, of great Value. Solemn Processions. Order of the March: The Conclusion, Annual Pilgrimages. Priest-ridden Girls, counterfeits Madnefs. The Chant discovered: Promoted by the King. Dangerous to oppose it.

ACCORDING to *Barbot*, there are a Snake-House, to lodge and entertain Snakes all over this Country. Of these *Atkins*, we conceive, is to be understood, when he says, the Snakes are cherished as a familiar Domestic in these Houses, called *Dryings* *. *Barbot* affirms, that no Person passes by the Snake-House without going-in to worship these Vermin, and inquire what they shall do to please them. He adds, that each of these Houses has an old Priestess, who is maintained by the Provisions offered to these Snakes, and she gives Answers in a low Voice to the Queries proposed by the Devotees; directing one Person not to eat Fowls, Beef or Mutton on such and such Days, another to abstain from Palm-Wine or Beer: Which Commands they superstitiously observe, believing their Violation of them would draw-down some singular Vengeance *.

BUT the principal Snake-House or Cathedral before-mentioned is situated about two Miles from the King's Village, (*Sabi* or *Sohi*) built under a very beautiful, lofty Tree, in which, they say, the chiefest and largest of all the Snakes resides: He must be very old according to their Account, and is a Sort of Grand-Father to the rest, being reported to be as thick as a Man, and of an unmeasurable Length *.

MARCHAIS says, that the Temple and Palace of the grand Serpent are about half a League to the West of *Xavier*, (or *Sabi*) the Capital of *Whidah*. The Road between them is the largest in the Kingdom, though far from being so broad as the High-ways in *France*. If it were paved with large Stones, it would not be unlike the Remains of the *Roman Ways* in *Italy*, being straight and narrow: A greater Breadth is needless here, where there are no Carriages, but a Hamock carried by two Negros, which takes-up no Room *.

THEY invoke the Snake in excessive wet, dry, or barren Seasons; on all Occasions relating to Government, or the Preservation of their Cattle; in short, in all Necessities and Difficulties, in which they do not apply to their new Batch of *Fetichers*. For this Reason very great Offerings are made to it, especially from the King, who on several Occasions, by Instigation of the Priests and the Grandees (who are his Creatures, and the Priests Tools) sends very rich Offerings to the Snake-House, which the Priests sweep into their own Pockets. These Offerings usually consist of Money, Pieces of Silk or Stuff, all Sorts of European and African Commodities, Cattle, Victuals, and Drink: But they are so often exacted from the King, that he sometimes grows tired and refuses them.

THIS the Author once saw an Instance of; for finding the King very much enraged, he asked his Majesty, what had so much displeased him: Upon which he frankly declared, that this Year he had sent much larger Offerings to the Snake-House than usual, in order to obtain a good Crop: and that one of his Vice-Roys (whom he stewed *Asiatic*) had again solicited him, in the Name of the Priests, who threatened a barren Year, to send yet more: To which he answered, that he did not intend to make any farther Offerings, let the Snake do as he pleased; for, says he, I cannot be more damaged thereby, the greater Part of my Corn being already rotten in the Field *.

THESE Offerings presented this Snake, says *Mar-of great chair*, are much more considerable than those presented to the other *Fetichers*, not being confined to Animals, Fowls, or Fruits. The grand Sacrificer often requires such a Quantity of valuable Goods, Barrels of *Bugis*, Gunpowder, and Brandy, with Hecatombs of Oxen, Sheep, and Poultry: These Demands are always suitable to the Fancy, Necessities, or Avarice of the High-Priest, who has the sole Profit of them; for the simple Idol is well satisfied with a Sheep or a Fowl. Sometimes the High-Priest requires Men or Women to be sacrificed. As no-body can approach the Temple but the grand Sacrificer and his Priests, it is easy for him to carry-off the Offerings, and apply them to his own Use. Such is the blind Superstition of the People, who will not open their Eyes *.

THE greatest Piece of Devotion paid to the grand Serpent, is the solemn Procession made him after the King's Coronation, at which the King's Mother presides. Three Months after, the King

* *Atkins's Voyage*, p. 113.

Miles, which are equal to seven or eight English.

* *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 342.

* *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 370.

* *Mar-chais's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 155.

* *Senegambie* says, p. 47, they have a Tradition, that they have always been delivered from any impending Calamity, by imploring the Snake's Assistance.

* *Barbot*, as before, p. 144.

* *Barbot*, as before, p. 144.

* *Barbot*, as before, p. 144.

* *Barbot*, as before, p. 144.

* *Barbot*, as before, p. 144.

* *Barbot*, as before, p. 144.

* *Barbot*, as before, p. 144.

March-
Court.

maket another in Person. Besides these there is an annual one lead by the great Master of the King's Household, in the King's Name. Except these (unless on extraordinary Occasions, such as great Drought or Rain, Plague, Famine, or other public Calamities) the Serpent is contented with the daily Worship paid him by the Priests and *Betas*, which consists in certain Songs and Dances to his Honour, when they bring him his Food, with the Offerings and Presents of the People.

THE Chevalier *des Marchais* was present at the Procession made to the great Serpent, after the present King's Coronation, *April* the sixteenth, 1725, which was as follows:

As Notice of these Processions are given, the Crowds are so great from all Parts of the Kingdom, that it would be impossible to pass, if Care was not taken to range them in Order on each Side. For this End a great Number of Beadles, or Constables, with large Rods or Switches in their Hands, go foremost to keep Order, and make

Order of

Way. These oblige the People, gathered near the Temple-Gate, to sit on their Heels and keep Silence. Next follow forty (of the King's) Musketeers, four and four, with their Captain at their Head: Then the King's Trumpet-Major with twenty Trumpets; and after him the Drum-Major, with as many Drums, beating as loud as they can; next the chief Player on the Flutes with twenty Musicians on the same Instrument. These three Bands are the King's Chamber-Music, and sometimes play separately, sometimes together. Twelve of the King's Wives of the third Order, two and two, carrying the King's Presents to the Serpent, which consist in *Bajis*, Brandy, Linen, Calicos, and Silk: The King's Valet de *Chambre* alone, with a Cane in his Hand, bare-headed, and clothed like the *Grandees*, his Page training on the Ground. Twenty Trumpets, three and three. Forty Soldiers, with Muskets, four

The March.

and four. Twenty Drums, two and two; twenty Flutes, two and two. Twelve of the King's Wives of the third Class, with large Baskets of Reeds on their Head, with Vials for the Serpent from the King. Three of the King's Dwarfs richly dressed, and long Pages training behind them, which makes them look less. The grand Master of the Ceremonies, bare-headed, his Cane in his Hand, dressed like the *Grandees*. Forty Musketeers, four and four; twenty Drums; twenty Trumpets; twenty Flutes. Twelve of the King's Wives carrying the Queen Mother's Presents to the Serpent. Three Valets of the Queen Mother carrying her armed Chair; the foremost has the Back of the Chair fastened to her Shoulders, the two others carry the Feet. Three of the King's

Dwarfs dressed like the former. After them comes the Queen Mother walking alone, her Cane in her Hand, magnificently dressed, her Pages trailing behind, and on her Head a Reed-Hat neatly wrought. Three Ladies of the Palace richly dressed, but bare-headed. Twelve Women Trumpets, two and two; twelve Women Drums; twelve Women Flutes. The grand Sacrificer bare-headed, his Cane in his Hand, richly dressed like a *Grandee*. Lastly, a Body of forty Musketeers closing the Procession, with some Beadles, or Constables, to keep-off the Mob.

THE Author counted, in this Procession, two hundred and sixty-six Men, and an hundred and seventy-six Women, in all four hundred and forty-two Persons. As these several Bodies arrived at the Palace of the Serpent, without entering the Court, they prostrated themselves with their Faces to the Earth at the Gate, clapping their Hands, throwing Dust on their Head, and giving Shouts of Joy. Mean time the Men and Women Musicians, ranged on each Side, made an horrible Noise, while the Soldiers kept continually firing with their Muskets. The King's Wives, who carried his Presents, and those of the Queen Mother, waited, ranged in a Line in the outer Court, till that Prince entered, and delivered those Presents to the grand Sacrificer. In doing this, she was assisted by the King's Valet de *Chambre*, the Master of the Ceremonies, and the three Ladies of the Palace, who were the only Persons admitted into the Temple.

It does not appear, that this Prince was admitted to see the Serpent: For that is a Favour not even allowed the King, who is not suffered to enter the first Hall, but makes his Addresses to the Serpent by the Mouth of the grand Sacrificer, who brings back such Answers as he thinks proper. After this the Procession returned to *Sabi* with the same Order and Ceremony as before.

In the Procession the King made in Person, three Months after, there was no Difference, but that he walked in the same Place his Mother did in this, and was followed by the five first Princes of the State.

With regard to the annual Pilgrimage, or *Annual Procession*, *Bajmas* observes, that the Kings of *Widdah* were formerly accustomed to make it with great Magnificence: For they not only gave very rich Offerings, but also bestowed very large Presents on the great Men that accompanied them, so that this Pilgrimage commonly cost them several Thousands.

BUT the present King has broken-off this Custom, which accordingly has grown into Disuse for several Years past. In his last Tour to

* *Smith* says, every *Rabghe*, or great Man, has a Snake of his own, kept in a little House built in some Grove, where the People go by Night, with Drums and Trumpets, to worship and sacrifice. See his Voyage, p. 126: Also his *Draughts of Guinea*, Plate 28.

* *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 153. & 177.

Steen
Caul.

the Snake-House, he was (as the Author was informed) accompanied by M. *Ducar*, a French Captain, who, to the Scandal of the *Europeans*, dressed himself in Tygers Skins, and other Sorts of Trifles, and in this Trim led the King to the Snake-House. The King now orders this Procession to be performed by some of his Wives, which is not near so expensive, as when he made the Procession in Person, and that, *Bosman* thinks, is the only Reason why he left it off.

High-riding
Gull.

THE Revenue the King draws from the Snake-Worship is not inconsiderable. Annually, from the Seed-Time of Maize, till it grows-up a Man's Height, the King and Priests, says *Bosman*, plow by Turns to great Advantage: For the People, who do not see much farther than their Noses, imagine, that during this whole Season the Snake or Snakes make it their Business every Evening and Night to seize all the beautiful young Women they like, and make them run distracted; wherefore their Parents or Relations are forced to cause these Girls to be brought to a particular House built for that Purpose, where they are to stay several Months (as it is given-out) to cure them of their Madness, during which Time their Relations are obliged to furnish them with all Manner of Necessaries; and that so plentifully, that the Priest also can handomly subsist on it.

Quartered
Madness.

THE appointed Time of their Confinement being over, and being cured of the Distemper, with which they were never afflicted, they obtain Leave to come-out; but first they must pay the Charge of their Cure and Keeping in Proportion to the Relations Circumstances, which, one Girl with another, amounts to about five Pounds each. As several Thousands are imprisoned, this must rise to a large Sum. Each considerable Village has a particular House appointed for this Purpose, and some large ones have two or three.

ALL the Money thus raised is believed to go for the Use of divine Service, but the Author is sure that the King likewise has a large Share.

THE first Time the Author came to *Whidah* to trade, he was assured, that as soon as a Girl was touched by the Snake, she infallibly ran mad. This is a holy or religious Madness, such as that of the *Bacchantes* of old, or of those who pronounced the Oracle. But the Persons pretended to be thus struck, break and spoil every thing that comes in their Way, and are guilty of all Manner of diabolical Actions, which they never leave off till brought to the afore-mentioned Place.

The Devil
by speech.

THE People strenuously endeavoured to persuade *Bosman*, that a Snake was able to fetch a Girl out of a House, though fast locked. But his Negro Acquaintance, already mentioned, dis-

Whidah
Religion.

covered the Truth to him, which is, that the Priests, either by Threats or Promises, engage all the Maids and Women not yet affected by the Snake, when they see the Coast clear, to set-up a Crying and Raving in the Streets, as though the Snake had fast hold of them, and commanded them to go to the Snake-House. Before any-body can come to their Help, the Snake is vanished, and the Girl is mad, which obliges her Relations to follow the Snake's Orders. When they come-out of the Mad-house, they are threatened inevitably to be burnt alive if they reveal the Secret: And truly, says the Author, the Priests are cruel and potent enough to make good their Threats if any Woman should blab.

THE same Negro related a pleasant Adventure concerning this Confinement, which happened between him and one of his Wives; who, by the Insigation of the Priests, one Evening feigned herself distracted, breaking (as usual) every thing she could lay her Hands on. But he very well knowing whence this Distemper proceeded, took her by the Hand as if he designed to carry her to the Snake-House, but brought her to the *Brandenburghers* Residence, who were then at *Whidah* trading for Slaves, where he offered her to sale. When she saw him in earnest, immediately freed from her Madness, she fell on her Knees, and asked his Pardon, solemnly promising never to commit the like Offence; on which he forgave her. This was a bold Attempt, for if the Priests had been informed of it, he must have been a dead Man.

DURING the Author's Residence at *Whidah*, *Premmed by the King* caused his Daughter to be seized by the Snake, (as appears by the Consequence.) She was carried to the Snake-House, and confined for some Time, though not so long as usual; but on her Account all the other Girls were discharged sooner than ordinary. On the Day of her Dismission, she was brought-out in a very splendid Manner, and carried, with the rest attending her, to the King's Court, before which they were placed. She was naked, except only a Silk Scarf, which was passed betwixt her Legs, and richly adorned with *Coute de Terra* and *Agri-Stone*. Whilst she sat here, she was guilty of all Manner of Extravagancies during the playing on several musical Instruments. This Sort of Madness the Negroes told the Author yet remained on her, and the more violent, because she was enlarged before the due Time. Mean time, the most considerable People of the Country crowded hither, each bringing her Presents, which together amounted to a round Sum. These Gifts lasted three or four Days, it being impossible for most

Slaves.
Costly.

of the People to come near her the first Day; so that this Lady got Money by her Delivery, whilst the rest were obliged to pay handsomely for theirs.

Dangers to
offend it.

If there are any Negroes who see through this Cheat, at least they pretend Ignorance, to curry Favour with the King and Priests, as well as for their own Safety; for those who should oppose it would very much endanger their Lives.

THE Author was a Witness of this the last Time he was at *Whidah*. The Wife of Captain Tem, a Gold-Cost Negro, who, through his good Behaviour, was promoted to the Dignity of Captain and Interpreter to the English, fell mad, pretending to be seized by the Serpent: But he being a Stranger to the Religion of this Country, instead of sending her to the Snake-House, clapt her in Irons; which so enraged this She-Devil, that she privately accused her Husband to the Priests. These, not willing to make any public Attempts on him, because of a different Country and Religion, secretly poisoned him, in such a Manner, that though he did not die, yet he became immediately speechless, and lost the Use of all his Limbs. *Basman* knew not whether ever he was cured, having left him in this miserable Condition.

SECT. IV.

The Priests and Priestesses, with their Impositions.

Priests and Priestesses. The chief Priest, or great Sacrificer. Inferior Priests. All abominable Cheats. The Priestesses: How consecrated. Girls seized and cloistered: How educated and marked: Their Privileges dearly paid for: Married to the Serpent: Become Priestesses. The old ones Bawdy. Authors reconciled. Snake-Worship, whence: Another Opinion.

Priests and
Priestesses.

THE religious Offices are here performed by Men and Women together; who both are held in such high Veneration, that they are not liable to capital Punishment for any Crime whatsoever: Notwithstanding which, the present King, with the Consent of his Grandees, ventured to break-in upon this Custom, but not without great Cause: For one of those Villains having engaged with the King's Brother, in a Conspiracy against his Majesty and the Kingdom,

that Prince ordered both the Offenders to be put to Death together.

THE *Fetichers*, or Priests, says *Ashim*, have one presiding over them, called the *Grand Fetichifier*, or *High Priest*, who is held in equal Reverence with the King himself; nay, sometimes more, for the People believe, an Intercourse he has with the Snake, to whom he is dedicated, capacitates him to check, or spread the Plagues which infect them. He has the Craft, by this Means, to humble the King himself, on all Occasions for their Service, and to drain both him and the People in supplying their Wants.

MARSHALL observes, that none but the grand Sacrificer can enter his secret Apartment, the King never seeing him but once, that is, when he presents him his Offerings, three Months after his Coronation. According to the same Author, the Priesthood of the grand Serpent is peculiar to one Family, of which the grand Sacrificer, who is always one of the Grandees of State, is the chief. All the other Priests are dependent on him, and obey his Orders. This Family is very numerous, and divided into several Branches. All the Males are, by Birth, Priests. They are easily known by the Scars and Marks on their Body, made when young. They do not differ from the People in their Habit, only that they have the Privilege of dressing like Grandees, when they can afford it.

NEITHER the grand Sacrificer, nor the inferior Priests have any certain Salaries. They trade like others, in which if they succeed, and by the Number of their Wives, Children, and Slaves, can improve much Land, breed a great Number of Cattle, and buy Slaves to sell at a good Price, they are respected accordingly. But their surest Revenue rises from the Credulity of the People, whom they impose on and fleece as they please; by a Variety of Cheats, extorting Offerings and Presents for the great Serpent, which they know how to convert to their own Use. Families are often ruined by these Extortions.

THE wiser Sort, and the Grandees, who are a Kind of Free-Thinkers, or rather have no Religion, are persuaded their Priests are Impositors and Cheats; as they often own to the Whites, in whom they can confide; but they are obliged to behave as if they thought the contrary, for fear of passing for irreligious, and lest the Priests should raise the Populace against them, to the Hazard of their Lives.

* This is like the Women in *Spain*, pretending to be possessed.

† *Jogg*.

* The same, p. 381.

perhaps from the Province.

* *Marshall's Voyage*, vol. 1, p. 236.

Marabout, or *Lahot*, always calls them *Marabouts*, or *Marabouts*, but very improperly.

* *Smith* says, p. 106, that they are as great Impostors as any belonging to the Church of Rome; but that is straining Matters abundantly too far.

* How could *Lahot* reflect thus on the *Whidah* Priests? Is not the Case exactly the same in Pagan Countries?

* *Marshall*, as before, vol. 2, p. 157, & 161.

F 2

These
Costs.
The Priests
offer

THE Women promoted to be Priestesses, though from Slaves perhaps, are yet as much or more respected than the Priests, and pride themselves with the peculiar Title of God's Children. All other Women are obliged to a slavish Service to their Husbands, but these exert an absolute Sway over them and their Effects; besides which, their Husbands are obliged to speak to and serve them upon their Knees.

For this Reason, the most sensible among them will neither marry a Priestess, nor easily consent for their Wives to be raised to that Dignity; but if it so happens, they must not oppose it, under the Penalty of being called to a severe Account, and looked-on as Men who endeavour to stop the common Course of divine Worship.

These
Costs.

MARSHALL relates the Manner of making these Priestesses. There are every Year, says he, a certain Number of young Virgins, selected, and consecrated to the Serpent, about the Time of the green Maze, when the old Priestesses belonging to the Serpent make their Recruits. These, armed with good Clubs, issue from their Houses, which are at a Stone's-Cast Distance from Xavier, (or Salsi) about eight at Night, and separating into Companies of twenty or thirty, run through the Town, crying, like Bedlamites, *Ni-ga Bedlamites*, that is, *Take, Lay-hold*. Thus they seize all the young Girls they find abroad, from eight to twelve Years old; and provided they enter no Courts, or Houses, (which is unlawful) no-body dares to resist them, for fear of being knocked in the Head by these Furies, supported by the Priests, who attend them.

With found
and cry-
ing.

THESE old Jades conduct all who are seized to their Dwellings, where they have Apartments to shut them up, instruct, and mark them. They take Care, however, to let their Parents know where they are, who often think this Choice so great an Honour, that they voluntarily offer their Daughters to the Service of the Snake. These Priestesses, in this Manner, go round all the Kingdom, which Course lasts usually fifteen Days, unless they have raised the Number they want sooner. If not, they continue their Search till that is completed.

From which
and cry-
ing.

When these Girls are cloystered, they treat them gently for some Days, teaching them the Dances and Songs sacred to the Worship of the Serpent, and then they mark them, which is done by cutting their Bodies with some Iron Points, in the Form of Flowers, Animals, and especially Serpents. As these Operations must needs cause great Pain and Loss of Blood, they are often succeeded by Fevers: But these cruel

Furies, who are the Executioners, have no Compassion on their Cries; and as no Person dare approach the Place of their Confinement, they have no Relief to hope.

Whites
Relieve.

THEIR Skin, after this, appears like a fine, black, flowered Sattin, which has a pretty Look, and denotes their being consecrated to the Serpent. This both gains them Respect from the People and gives them peculiar Privileges, especially that of keeping their Husbands in Subjection, if any are so foolish to marry them: For if a Husband should take it in his Head to correct or reprove any of these Ladies, he would run the Risk of seeing the old Priestesses in a Body, come to punish him for his Presumption. As soon as these Serpent-Devotees are thoroughly cured and instructed, they are told it was the Serpent himself who marked them, which, whatever they think, they must pretend to believe. They are also forbid to reveal whatever they have seen or heard, otherwise the Serpent will carry them off and burn them alive.

THEIR Priestesses then take the Opportunity of some dark Night to carry them back to their respective Houses, where they leave them on the Threshold of the Door, and bid them call their Parents, who seldom fail to receive them kindly, and to go thank the Serpent for the Honour he has done their Family, in admitting their Children into his Service, and stamping them with his Mark. Some Days after, these old Priestesses come to demand of their Parents the Charges due for their Childrens Residence in the Serpent's House, which they rate at their own Pleasure, generally pretty high: Nor will they bate a Farthing; but, on the least Refusal, they double or treble the Demand; so that the best Way is to pay it cheerfully and at once. Of the Contribution thus levied, they give one Part to the grand Sacrificer, the other to the Priests, and divide the third among themselves.

THESE Girls remain with their Parents, going from Time to Time to the House where they were consecrated, to repeat the Songs and Dances they had learned in Honour of the Serpent. When marriageable, which is about fourteen or fifteen, the Ceremony of their Nuptials with the Serpent is performed. The Parents, on this Occasion, who are proud of the Alliance, give their Daughters the finest *Payants* and richest Ornaments they can afford. They are conducted in Ceremony to the Temple of the great Serpent, where, at Night, they descend, by two or three at a Time, into a Trench, or Pit, with Vaults on each Side, in which, it is said, they find two

* Bafman's Description of *Gambia*, p. 384.
The Story recited before from *Bafman*, of the Negro who was going to sell his Wife, for pretending to be distempered.

* On this Occasion, he relates, with some little Variation,

Slave-Coast.

or three Serpents, as Proxies of the great one, ^a speaks of the Girls, who are taken-up and confined, as running distracted, and being distinct from the Priestesses; with him *Atkins* seems to agree: Whereas *Marchais* makes them the Priestesses, without saying a Word of their being mad. This might happen from the different, or imperfect Information given those Authors; for both Stories seem to be the same, told with a little Variation: So that the first might not know that the mad Girls were made Priestesses; or the second, that the Priestesses had been troubled with mad Fits; which yet, from the Circumstances of the Whole, appears to have been the Case.

River Port of Gambia.

It is said, that these supposed Proxies are other Creatures more capable of Marriage than Reptiles; and that the Fruits of this Adventure, which appear in a certain Time, are of the human Species. Next Day, these Brides are reconducted in Procession to their Parents, and then admitted into the Society of the Priestesses; being intitled to the same Privileges, and sharing the same Offerings made to their Husband-Serpent. If they marry another Husband, he is obliged to respect them so as to speak to them kneeling, to give them their Will, and submit to their Authority. Their Wives are called *Betas*, yet they seldom fail to find Husbands, especially if they are handsome: When they are not, they generally sell their Favours as dear as they can ^b.

The old and Bawls.

THESE old Priestesses are a Sort of Mother-Abbesses, and their Dwellings, Nunneries; where, doubtless, the same Intrigues are carried-on, as in the no less catholic Countries of the North. According to *Atkins*, the *Fetichwomen*, who live separated, with a Number of Virgins under their Care, are no better than Bawls, who prostitute the Girls for Money. I have heard, says this Author, that the rich *Kabobiers* do often buy the Consent of these Women to debauch their Pupils. To ensnare the Girls, they pretend they have had a Conference with the Snake, and that he intimated to them, how agreeable it would be to him for her to favour such a Person's Addresses. Having gained so far on her Credulity, they teach her to set Fits and Distortions at the Sight of him, in order to enhance the Price; promising, that for this Compliance, she shall be amply rewarded in the Snake's Country, which, they pretend, is far pleasanter than that she breathes in. They add, that the Snake himself will then be more amiable, having here put-on his worst Shape, that Obedience might have the more Merit. A Discovery in the Girl, continues the Author, would be certain Death; and none would believe, or if they did, would dare openly to affirm that she was murdered, against the Assertion of the *Fetichmen or Women* ^c.

Author assumed.

It may be proper to observe, that *Bosman*

We shall conclude this Account of the Snake-Worship, with the Thoughts of Mr. *Atkins* concerning its Origin. This Author, (who, perhaps, was a Stranger to what the Natives say on that Head) on the Supposition, that *Ophir*, where *Solomon's* Fleet sailed for Gold, is *Sofala*, thinks it might have proceeded to the *Gold-Coast*, and left there some traditional Story concerning the old Serpent, or that fiery one lifted-up by *Moses* in the Wilderness. The Peacocks mentioned in the Text, might possibly, he thinks, be the Crown-Birds.

THE same Author likewise conceives *Gerdan's* Conjecture, that the *Mosaic* Law was once introduced into some Parts of *Nigraland*, is strengthened by the Affinity of some Names and Customs they retain with the *Jews*, particularly Circumcision, practised in most, if not all Parts of the Coast; or he looks upon it not improbable, that the *Egyptians*, from whom *Abram* borrowed it, might as well have transmitted the Use of it, with their Trade, to this opposite Side of *Africa*: He adds, that there are but two Objections to this Opinion: First, that it was easier to borrow this Custom from the *Mallays*, black *Turks*, who inhabit about the Middle of *Africa*, with whom they communicate by Trade. Secondly, That the Practice here, like as with the *Mohammedans*, is not taken-up of Precept, but Tradition.

OTHERS think this Snake-Worship might be ^{Author assumed} assumed (as the *Egyptians* did theirs of the Ox and Cow, the Crocodile and Cat) from the great Usefulness of these Creatures: For as the Crocodile and Cat preyed upon those Reptiles that devoured the Fruits of their Husbandry in *Egypt*, so these Snakes are said to kill the black and poisonous Sort here, and to destroy various Species of Vermin, injurious to their Fields and Grain ^d.

^a *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2, p. 144, & seq.
^b *Atkins's Voyage*, p. 114, & seq.

^c See his *Geographical Grammar*, p. 327.

^d *Atkins*, as before, p. 115, & seq.

C H A P. VI.

The Government of Whidah.

S E C T. I.

P E N A L L A W S.

Punishments inflicted in Case of Murder: For lying with the King's Wives. The Offenders, how executed: Cruel Death. Grandee's Wife's Gallant executed: The Body exposed. The King's Wives execute his Orders. Crimes fined. Trial of Innocence by Water. Solemn Contract. Dicks, how recovered. Law of Retaliation. Prisons.

*Penal laws
registered*

THEIR Government, so far as it relates to civil and military Affairs, is vested in the King and his Grandees; but in criminal Cases, the King assembles his Council, composed of select Persons, opens the Indictment to them, and takes every Man's Opinion. If the Verdict pleases him, Execution accordingly follows; but if not, he punishes by his Royal Will and Pleasure.

*In Case of
Murder,*

HERE are very few capital Crimes, viz. only Murder, and Adultery with the King's, or his Grandees Wives. The Negroes, fearful as they are of Death, sometimes incur it one of these Ways. Within these five or six Years, says *Hosmen*, two Blacks were executed for Murder: They were cut-open alive, their Entrails taken-out and burned: After which the Corpses were filled with Salt, and fixed on a Stake in the Middle of the Market-Place; where the Author saw them in his first Voyage.

*For lying
with*

ABOUT four Years after, a Negro who had been familiar with one of the King's Wives, being caught, was, together with the Female Accomplice of his, brought to the Place of Execution, in the open Field; where he was set as a Mark, for several great Men to show their Skill in darting their *Affingays* at him, by which the poor Wretch was miserably tormented. After this, in the Presence of the Lady, the Criminal's Member was cut-off, and he obliged to throw it into the Fire himself: Then being bound both Hand and Foot, and put into a deep Pit, the Executioner, from a Pot boiling on the Fire, by Degrees, ladled-out Water on them, till it was half spent; upon which, the Remainder was poured on them at once, and the Pit being filled with Earth, they were buried alive.

*The King's
Wives.*

TWO Years after this, a young Man was taken, who had shut himself up in the King's

a Dwelling-Place in Woman's Habit, and enjoyed several of his Wives: But at last, fearing a Discovery, he resolved to fly into another Country, and take a large Pack of his Goods to subsist on. However, the Negro and one Woman were caught in the Fact; nor could any Torture inflicted on the former, extort a Discovery of any more. Sentence having passed to burn him with the Woman, the Negro, at the Place of Execution, could not forbear laughing, to see the King's Wives so very forward to bring Wood to burn him, with whom they had passed many a Night very agreeably: This he spoke publicly; but would not accuse any one in particular.

THE Severity of the Law in this Article makes the Women surprizingly cautious in their Intrigues, and especially the King's Wives; who, on these Occasions, says *Marchais*, think it a Duty to help one another, though, as the Men keep a sharp Eye, they are often discovered. If it happens the guilty Couple are surprized, the King pronounces Sentence of Death immediately. The Execution is performed in this Manner: The King's Officers cause two Graves to be dug, six or seven Foot long, four broad, and five deep, so near each other, that the Criminals may see and speak together. In the Middle of one they plant a Stake; to which they fasten the Woman, tying her Arms behind the Post: Her Legs are also tied at the Knees and at the Ankles. At the Bottom of the other, the King's Wives of the third Rank lay Bundles of small Egg-gots; and two Forks of Wood being fastened, by the Officers, at the Ends, the Man, stark-naked, is tied to an Iron-Bar, like a broad Spit with Iron Chains, that he cannot stir, and laid across the two Forks, like two Hand-Irons. Then they light the Wood, so that the Flames may just reach the Body, which is thus roasted by a slow Fire. This cruel Punishment would be very lingering, if they did not take Care to turn the Criminal so with his Face downward, that the Smoke suffocates him before he is quite roasted. When they perceive no more Signs of Life, they untie the Body, fling it into the Pit, and fill it up with Earth.

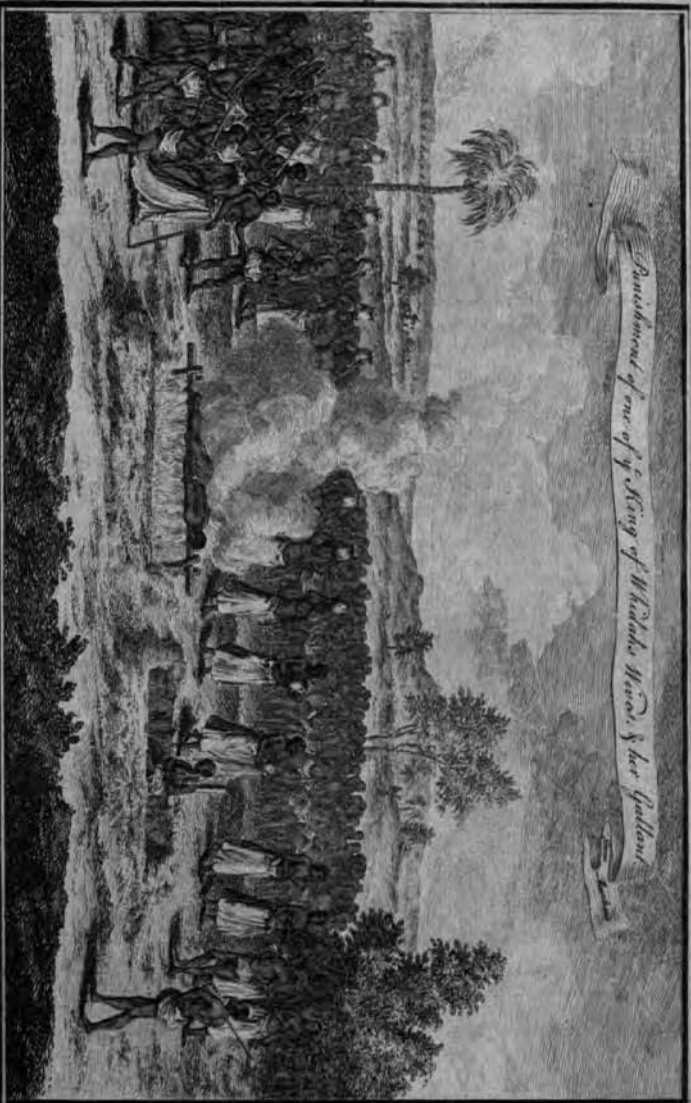
WHEN the Man is dead, the Women of the third Order issue from the Palace, to the Number of fifty or sixty, richly dressed, as on a Festival

* *Hosmen's Description of Guinea, p. 357, 358, 359.*

* See the Figure.

* Not so in the Court-Day.

Punishment of one of the King of Mictlan's Men, & her Gallant



Slave-
Costs.

Day. They are guarded by the King's Musketeers, accompanied by his Drums and Flutes. Each carries on their Head a large Pot of scalding Water, which they pour one after another on the Head of the Criminal, dead or not dead, and throw the Pot after it. This done, they loosen the Body, take-up the Stake, and casting both into the Pit, fill it up with Earth and Stones.

Grande's
Wife's

WHEN the Wife of a Grandee is taken in Adultery, the injured Husband has a Power to put her to Death, or sell her to the Europeans. If he puts her to Death, he has her beheaded, strangled by the Executioner; nor is he called to any Account if he acquaints the King of the Fact, and pays the Officer his Fee: But as he has no Power over the Man who has dishonoured him, (unless he takes him in the Fact, in which Case he may kill him on the Spot) he has no Remedy but to seek for Justice from the King, who sentences the Criminal to Death.

Collier ac-
cused.

THE Chevalier *des Marchais* was present at an Execution of this Kind in 1725: A Grandee complained to the King, that a private Person had debauched his Wife. His Majesty, upon hearing the Witnesses, passed Sentence, that the Offender should be beaten to Death wherever he could be found, and his Body exposed for Food to the Birds and Beasts. The Officers belonging to the Governor of *Sabi* immediately went in Search of him, and found him almost entering his own Door; where they soon dispatched him with their Clubs, and left the Body as the King had ordered. The Neighbours went to acquaint the Captain of the Seraglio, that the Body would infect all that Quarter before it corrupted; and entreated he would obtain the King's Orders to have it taken from thence, or thrown into the Sewer, where it could infect no-body.

The Body
exposed.

THE Officer, probably feed in the Case, represented their Complaint to the King, who replied, "If I did not punish Adultery with Severity, no Person in my Kingdom could be safe." "The Body shall lie there till it be devoured or rotten." The People shall see it and learn, at the Expence of this Wretch, how they invade their Neighbour's Bed. All I can grant is, that in the Day-Time they may throw a Mat over the Body, leaving the Face uncovered, that the Criminal may be known as long as his Features can be distinguished." Not content with this, the King gave to the Grandee, whom the Deceased had injured, all his Effects, with his Wives and Slaves, to sell or dispose of as he thought proper.

King's Wives

THE King makes use sometimes of his Wives to execute the Sentence he pronounces. This is

done by only sending three or four hundred of them to the Offender's House, to strip and level it with the Ground: For all Persons being forbidden, on Pain of Death, to touch them, they are enabled to execute his Commands without the least Interruption. Just before the Author's Arrival, a Negro of his Acquaintance happened to be informed, that he was accused of a certain Crime to the King, and that Orders were issued out to plunder and demolish his House: But having no Time to clear himself to his Majesty, and being innocent, resolved not to fly as usual, but stay and expect the King's Wives. Soon after they came, and contrary to Expectation finding him at home, commanded him immediately to retire, and not interrupt the Execution of their Orders: But instead of obeying them, he had placed about two thousand Weight of Gunpowder close by him, with which he made terrible Imprecations to blow-up himself and them along with him, if they came any nearer. Hereupon they went away dismally affrighted to acquaint the King with their ill Success: But the Negro had been there before them, and brought such clear Proofs of Innocence, that his Sentence was remitted.

MARCHAIS says, the King employs his Wives of the third Class to execute all his Orders in the Town of *Sabi*. When he would punish any Persons, he sends them with each a long Rod or Pole. They are always followed by the Populace, who pay them great Respect, and seldom lose on these Occasions. When they reach the Criminal's House, they inform him of the King's Pleasure; and as there is no Opposition to be made, immediately fall to plunder, break or burn all his Goods, so that he is undone in a few Minutes. The Kings have sometimes used this Method to humble the Grandees, whom they were displeased with: But this happens rarely, for though they are absolute, yet they dread them, and seldom proceed to Extremities against one. However, sometimes, when the Grandees are at Variance, the King sends two or three thousand of these Wives to ravage the Lands of the Person who refuses to hearken to the reasonable Terms of Accommodation he proposes. The Respect paid these Women, whom no Man dare presume to touch, obliges the most refractory to an Agreement, rather than to see themselves devoured by these Furies, or violate a fundamental Law of the Realm. This Privilege of the Grandees is of very bad Consequence to the State.

OTHER Crimes are mostly punished by a pecuniary Mult, which the King takes all himself. In such Cases he calls to his Assistance none

^a *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 266, & seq.
^b *as before*, p. 27, & seq.

^c *Bushman's Description of Guinea*, p. 367.

^d *Bushman* says only 50 many Hundreds.

^e *Marchais*, *as before*, p. 200, but.

Slave-
Cent.

but Captain *Carter*, one of his favourite *Grande*es, who is justly called the King's Soul, since he will not do any thing of the least Importance without him. This *Carter*, in the Author's Time, was also the Captain *Blanco*, or Captain to whom the *European* Affairs were all intrusted.

Trial by
Water.

If any Person accused denies the Fact, he is obliged to clear himself by *Fetich*, as on the *Gold-Coast*; or otherwise (which is very common) he is brought to a River not far from the King's Court, to which is ascribed the strange Quality of immediately drowning all the guilty Persons who are thrown into it, (contrary to the *European* Notion of trying Witches:) But as they are very expert in swimming, *Bosman* never heard that this River ever convicted any Person, for they all came out well, paying a certain Sum to the King; for which End alone, he believes, this Way of Trial was assigned. The Vice-Roy generally follow the same Rule, and condemn the Malefactors to pay a certain Sum for their Use.

BARBOT, who repeats the same Thing, adds, that if the Criminal, by any Accident, be drowned, they say his Body is boiled in a large Copper, and eaten in Detestation of his Guilt: But this last Particular the Author does not affirm for Truth.

Savon Cer-
tial.

THERE is another Ceremony used at *Whidah*, on account of solemn Contracts, or Engagements, which they call *Beire Dies*, in their Manner. The Contractors make each a little Hole in the Earth, into which they drop some of their own Blood; and having mixed it with a little Earth, each of them drinks of the Composition as much as he can. This they regard as a solemn Contract, to have but one Interest, to share one Fortune, and keep nothing secret from each other; being persuaded the least Failure would occasion Death.

Baths, how
surrendered.

THOUGH Trade is usually carried-on here without Credit, yet on some Occasions Credit is given. In case of the Debtor's Insolvency, the King allows the Creditor to sell him, his Wives, and even his Children for the Sum due. Here is also another extraordinary Law in favour of the Creditor, from which neither the King nor *Grande*es are exempted. If the Creditor, before Witnesses, three Times asks his Debt of a Person, whom he cannot arrest or sell, on account of his Dignity or Power, and the Debtor refuses to pay him, the Creditor has a Right to seize the first Slave he meets, let him belong to whom he will; even the King himself, the Slaves of the

Europeans only being exempt from this Law. In doing this, he says aloud, I seize this Slave by the *Kahsché*, that is, *Head*, on the Account of such an one who owes me such a Sum. The Master of the Slave must then pay the Sum due, if he would redeem his Slave, and that in twenty-four Hours, otherwise the Creditor may sell him towards Payment of his Debt. The Master of the Slave then becomes Creditor to the first Debtor, on whose Account the Slave was seized. For this Reason they take Care to seize the Slave of some rich or powerful Man, being sure, by that Means, to recover their Debt. If one Slave be not sufficient, the Creditor has a Right to seize more. This Custom has its Convenience and Inconvenience: It procures the Creditor Justice, but it often exposes rich Men to pay other Peoples Debts.

Whidah
Ceremonies.

The same Author observes, that the Law of Retaliation is much practised here. Murder is punished with Death, the Loss of a Limb with the same. The former is sometimes, on great Solicitation to the King, commuted into perpetual Banishment, that is, of the Malefactor being sold to the *Europeans*. The Families and Estates of Criminals are forfeited to the King; so that here the Innocent are always involved with the Guilty.

INCENDIARIES, or those who set Fire to Houses, are burned alive. These Crimes are not frequent; but if Theft was punished severely here, the Country had been depopulated long since: However, the Thief, if caught (and cannot make Restitution) is sold for a Slave.

THE King and *Grande*es have their respective Prisons for confining Criminals and such Slaves as the Owners send to them for safe Custody, for which they are paid a certain Rate: But then they are responsible for them, and obliged to pay the Value to the Owners, if any escape.

SECT. II.

Coronation of the Kings of *Whidah*.

Kingdom hereditary. Heir apparent, how educated; by Policy of the *Grande*es. Coronation often delayed. Offerings to the *Sanké*. Procession of the King's Wives. *Grande*es Homage to the Throne: Their Embassy to *Ardrah*: Commissioner from thence, comes to *Sabi*. Processions to the *Serpent*. For Coronation notified. King's Dress, and Throne. Order of the Ceremony. The *Ardrah* Lord, crowns the King.

* *Bosman's Description of Guinea*, p. 359.

† *Bosman's Description of Guinea*, p. 357.

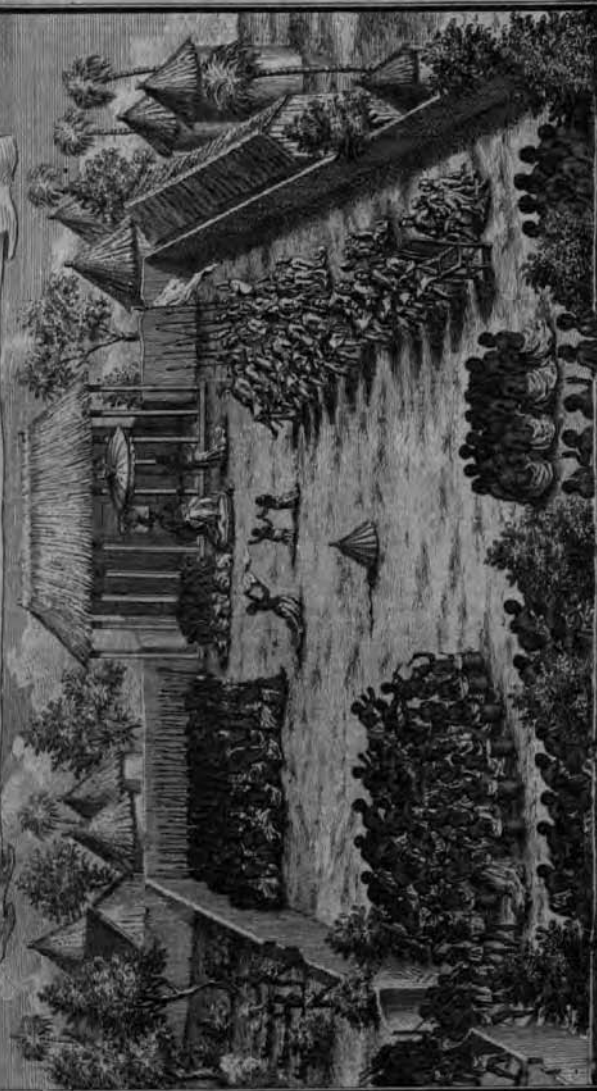
* This

is like the Custom on the *Gold Coast*. See Vol. II. p. 691.

† *Marsden's Voyage*, vol. II. p. 166; & seq.

* The same, p. 391.

Coronation of the King of Whidah, April 1716 from Martin.



W. Child sculp.

Slave-
Coast.
Kingdom
Serendib.

THE Chevalier des Marchais has furnished a particular Account of the Coronation and other Matters relating to the Kings of *Whidab*. According to that Author, the Kingdom is hereditary, the eldest Son always succeeding, unless the Grandees have particular Reasons to exclude him, and give the Crown to one of his Brothers, as happened in 1725. In all the Negro Countries, from the *Sanaga* to *Rio da Vata*, though the King is always taken from the royal Family, yet his Children are excluded the Succession, which continually defends by the Female Side. In *Whidab* they have a better Opinion of the Women, and the Male Succession is received with this Restriction, that the Crown shall descend only to the Son or Sons born after their Father's Coronation, those born before his Accession having no Claim.

His two
daughters.

ANOTHER inviolable Law is, that as soon as the Successor is born, the Grandees cause him to be carried to the Province of *Zingbi*, on the Frontier of the Kingdom (to the West), where he is educated like the Son of a private Person, without giving him any Knowledge of his Birth, the Rank he is designed for, or instructing him in any Qualifications necessary for Government. No Person dare visit him, or receive a Visit from him. The Person who has the Charge of him is acquainted with the Secret of his Birth, but obliged to conceal it from him, on Pain of Death, and to use him as one of his own Children. The present King of *Whidab* kept his reputed Father's Hogs when the Grandees came to seek him to set him on the Throne of his deceased Father.

Policy of the
Grandees.

It is easy to see the View of the Grandees of *Whidab* in this Procedure and Way of educating the presumptive Heir to the Crown. As he is called to govern a Kingdom, whose Interests and Maxims he is a Stranger to, he is obliged to consult them on all Occasions, and lay the Burden of Government on their Shoulders, by which Means the Power is perpetuated in their Hands, their Titles and Posses being hereditary, and the eldest Son always succeeding to the Honours and Possessions of his Father.

Co-partners
often delayed.

THE King is not crowned immediately on his Accession, or being brought from *Zingbi*. Some Months, and often Years, pass before the Ceremony, the Time of which the Grandees fix as it suits their respective Interests; but seven Years is the longest Term for which it can be delayed. During all this Interval the Government is rather in their Hands, than those of the King, who, however, is served, visited, and respected

in that Quality, but is not suffered to go out of his Palace.

Whidab
Grandees.

At last, when a Day for the Inauguration is agreed-on, they acquaint the King therewith, who assembles them in the Palace where a grand Council is held, and what the Nobles have resolved, is confirmed by universal Consent. On this the King gives public Notice by a Discharge of seventeen Cannon about eleven o'Clock at Night, as the Council breaks-up. The Town of *Xavier* (or *Sabi*) immediately expresses its Joy by the loud Acclamations of the People, which soon spread from Village to Village; so that in less than an Hour the News reaches the remotest Parts of this small but populous Kingdom.

Whidab
the Death.

THE great Sacrificer, who is here called *Beti*, fails not to go next Morning at ten o'Clock to the Palace, and command the King, in the Name of the great Serpent, to prepare the Offerings due on this Occasion. As this pretended sacred Animal is dumb, he communicates his Intention by his Minister; and though he should demand for Offerings the King's favourite Wives, he would be obliged to give them up. The Author knows not if the Serpent was ever so cruel, but at the Coronation of *Amar*, the present King of *Whidab*, in April, 1725, he was more reasonable, requiring only an Ox, a Horse, a Sheep, and a Fowl. These four Animals were sacrificed in the Palace, and afterwards carried in Ceremony to the Middle of the public [or Market] Place. On each Side of these Victims were placed nine small Loaves of Millet, rubbed over with Oil of Palm, near which the grand Sacrificer had erected a Pole nine or ten Foot long, on the End of which was a Piece of Linen by Way of Standard, or Flag. All this Ceremony was performed to the Sound of Drums, Flutes, and Trumpets, and attended with the loudest Acclamations of the People. The Carcasses of the Victims were left there, exposed to the Birds of the Air, no Person being allowed to approach or touch them on Pain of Death.

King of Whidab
Sacrificer.

As soon as these Victims were exposed, and the Ceremony over, the King's Wives of the third Order (that is, such who by Age, or some other Reason, are no longer proper for the King's Pleasure) came out of the Palace to the Number of eighteen. The King's Flutes with four of his Drums marched at their Head, and they were guarded by twenty Musketeers. The Chief of them went last, and carried an Image of baked Earth: This was the coarse Figure of a

* *Zingbi*, in some Maps.

† This Regulation must be in Consequence of some very new Law, for it was not so in *Bourne's* Time but twenty-five Years before, for then the three eldest Sons were at *Sabi*.

‡ *Marsden's Voyage*, vol. 2, p. 41, 42, 497.

§ By the Account of the King's Wives, p. 48, 2. it should be those of the second Order.

Mar-
shall.

Child sitting, which she laid down near the Victims. Their Women both in going and returning sang a Song, (or Hymn) which agreed well with the Music. All the Populace, as they passed, fell back to make Way, prostrating themselves on the Ground, and shouting for Joy, which they continued to do till they re-entered the Seraglio, on which twenty Rockets were let-off, to inform the King and People of their Return.

Grandes
Honors.

THESE two Ceremonies over, all the Grandes crowded to the Palace. On this Occasion they are adorned with their most precious Jewels, attended with their Drums, Flutes, and Trumpets, and guarded by all their Slaves well armed. They enter without stripping themselves, because the King is not present, and one by one fall prostrate before the empty Throne; after which they return.

THIS Ceremony lasts fifteen Days, during which the King's Women fill the Palace with Shouts of Joy, which are attended with the Discharge of Rockets. These Acclamations are caught by the People and the Grandes, who are then all in Town, and play-off Rockets in Plenty. Every three Days the King's Cannon fire at noon as Sun-set; so that there is no sleeping or any thing to be heard for these fifteen Days, but Shouts, Guns, Rockets, and Cannon.

Book of
Africa.

As soon as the Grandes have performed their Homage, they depute one of their Number to go to *Ardrab* with a magnificent Retinue, in order to bring one of the Grandes of that Kingdom, whose Family from Time immemorial claims the Right of crowning the Kings of *Whidah*. The Expenses of this *Ardrab* Lord, with all his Train, are defrayed, and the greatest Respect paid him, on the Road. When he arrives within two Leagues of *Sabi*, he finds new Horses prepared for him, where he is intreated to repose himself with his Train; and as if he had really Need of Rest after a Journey of fifteen or twenty Leagues, they leave him there forty Days, giving him at the same Time to understand, that neither he nor any of his Retinue must come to *Sabi* till the End of that Term: However, all this while he is visited and regaled by the Grandes of the Kingdom, who make him Presents, and divert him in the best Manner they can. The King sends him Provisions twice a Day in great Plenty, the Dishes being carried by his Wives of the third Rank, preceded by his Majesty's Band of Music, and a Guard of ten Eunuchs.

Comm. Grues.
from Marshall.

When forty Days being expired, the King sends a Grandee to invite the *Ardrab* Lord to

Whidah
Governor.

Sabi, assuring him, that he shall be received with all the Respect due to him, and that Lodgings are prepared for him and his Train adjoining to the Palace. The *Ardrab* receives the Envoy in State, and replies, he is willing to comply with the King of *Whidah*'s Desire, but must first be certainly informed by the King of *Ardrab*, his Sovereign, that the King of *Whidah* has repaired the principal Gate of *Offra*, the capital City of *Ardrab*, as he is obliged to do by the ancient Treaties between the two Crowns. The King of *Whidah*, informed of this Answer, sends the proper Persons to *Offra* to make the Preparations required, which they soon do, and return with an Officer of the King of *Ardrab*, who assures the *Ardrab* Lord, in the King's Name, that the Gate is repaired, and that nothing now hinders him from executing his Commission.

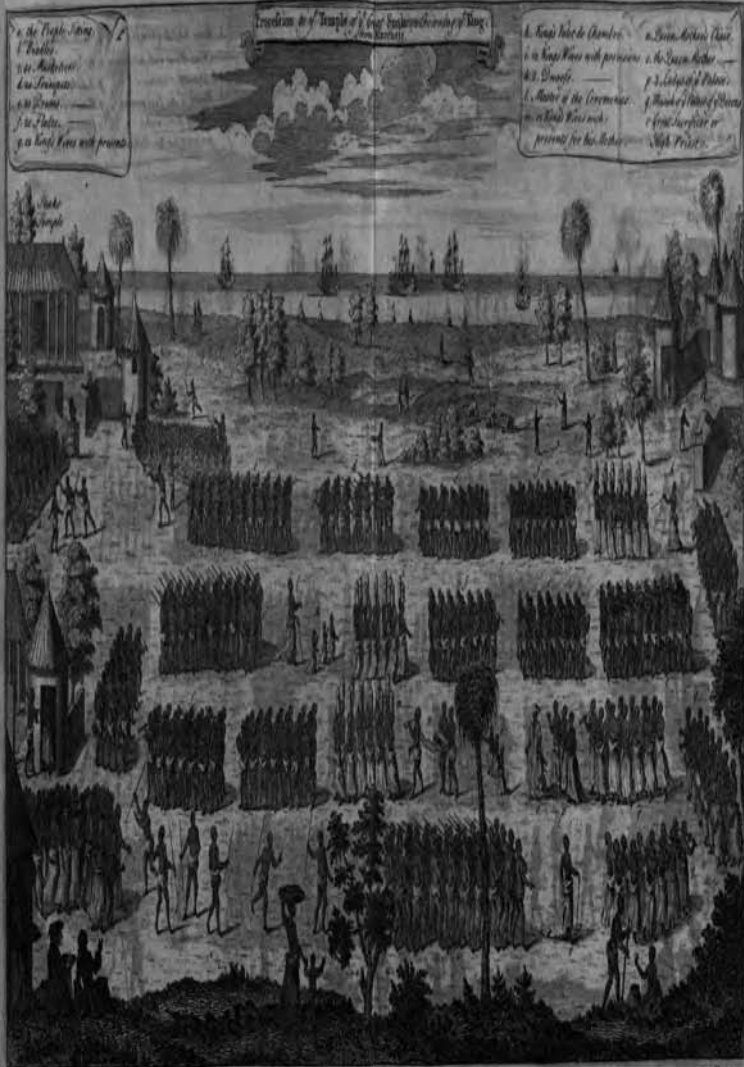
As soon as this Answer is come, the great Men of *Whidah*, attended by their usual Train, and a prodigious Concourse of People, go to wait on the *Ardrab* Commissioner, and conduct him in State to *Sabi*, where he is received under a Salvo of the King's Cannon, and with the Acclamation of the King's Wives re-echoed by the People. After this he is conducted to the Apartments prepared for him near the Palace, where he is splendidly treated by the Officers of the King, who send to compliment him on his Arrival, and every Morning to know how he does. After five Days he may go abroad to see the Grandes who have visited him, but he does not wait on the King till the third Day, when he enters the Palace with the Chief of his Train, without quitting his Dress or Ornaments, and speaks to the King standing, and without Prostration.

DURING these five Days the *Ardrab* Lord stays at home, the Grandes and People are employed in making Processions to the Temple of the great Serpent, to pray that this new Prince may be as good and just as his Predecessor, that he may cause Trade to flourish, and the Laws to be observed; and that he may preserve the People in their Rights and Liberties. This is the Work of each Day. The Nights are spent in feasting one another, Dancing, Acclamations, Music, firing of Guns, and such a Confusion of Noises as is enough to deafen those who are not used to such Extravagancies.

On the fifth Day, at Sun-set, there are nine Guns fired at the Palace, to give the People Notice, that the King will be crowned next Day; that he will show himself in Public, seated on his Throne in the Court of the Palace destined for that Purpose; and that the Gates will be open to

* *Lobas* here is grossly mistaken, for according to his own Map, *Offra* lies near *Juquin*, and the Capital of *Ardrab* is *Affim*.

* *Marshall's Voyage*, vol. i. p. 49. C. 159.



a. de l'Église, l'Église
 b. de l'Église, l'Église
 c. de l'Église, l'Église
 d. de l'Église, l'Église
 e. de l'Église, l'Église
 f. de l'Église, l'Église
 g. de l'Église, l'Église

Inscription de l'Église de l'Église de l'Église de l'Église
 de l'Église de l'Église de l'Église de l'Église

h. de l'Église, l'Église
 i. de l'Église, l'Église
 j. de l'Église, l'Église
 k. de l'Église, l'Église
 l. de l'Église, l'Église
 m. de l'Église, l'Église
 n. de l'Église, l'Église
 o. de l'Église, l'Église

Class-
List.

every-body. At the same Time he sends one of his Officers to acquaint the Directors of the *European* Factories, with the Time and Place of the Ceremony, and invite them to be present.

THIS agreeable News is received with new Marks of Exultation by the People. The Grandees of *Windah* go to spend the Night with the Lord from *Ardrab*, who is to crown the King. They converse there together, praying silently. When they are tired of Prayers, they drink and smoke to prevent their sleeping. All these are Points essential to the Ceremony.

King's Dress
and Throne.

To conclude, on the sixth Day, at five in the Evening, the King set-out from his Seraglio, attended by forty of his favourite Wives, richly dressed in the finest Silk Gowns that could be found in the Magazines of his Majesty, or the *European* Companies. These Women were rather loaded than adorned with Gold Necklaces, Pendants, and Bracelets, Foot-Chains of Gold and Silver, and the richest Jewels. The King himself was dressed in the most magnificent Manner, and had on his Head a gilt Helmet, with white and red Feathers.

In this Equipage, surrounded with his Guards, he crossed on Foot the Courts of his Palace, and went to sit on his Throne; which was placed before a large Building like a Porch, situated in an Angle of a Court to the East of the Palace, on this Account called *The Court of the Greenation*. His Throne was a large gilt Arm-Chair, on the Back of which were the Arms of *France*, which shewed it was a Present from that Nation. He was seated on a Velvet Cushion, richly laced with Gold, having another of the same at his Feet. The Position of the Persons, who assisted at the Ceremony, was as follows:

Order of the
Ceremony.

THE King's forty favourite Women, who attended him, were seated on his Left-Hand, the *Europeans* were placed on Arm-Chairs in a Line on the Right: The *Sieur Doringuin*, the *French* Director, the *Chevalier des Marchais*, and other *French* Officers, being seated next the King; the Gentlemen of the *English* Factory next; next them the *Dutch*; and last the *Portuguese*. Behind them were placed their Domestic, those of the *French* General standing, with one holding the *French* Standard, the rest sitting. The *French*, *Dutch*, and *English* Gentlemen were seated, but the *Portuguese* Director and his Factors stood uncovered: A humbling Circumstance to that haughty Nation, who have lost their Authority here so far, that if a Negro affront a *Portuguese*, he dare not strike him; whereas, if he should lift his Hand to the *French*, they are allowed to kill him, only giving the King Notice of the Provocation received. On the King's Right Hand stood

a Grandee with an Umbrella, which was only for Show, (the Ceremony being performed at Night.) It was of the richest Cloth of Gold, the Lining embroidered with Gold, and the Edge adorned with Gold Fringes and Tassels. On the Top was a Cock of gilt Wood, big as the Life, and the Pole that supports it six Foot high, and gilt. The Officer who bore it turned it continually round, in order to cool the King. There was another Grandee, who kneeled before the King and fanned him with a Silk Pagne, about the Size of a common Napkin. Two of the King's Dwarfs stood opposite to his Majesty, who, one after the other, represented to him the good Qualities of his Predecessor; extolling his Justice, Liberality, and Clemency, and exhorting the King not only to imitate, but surpass him. The little Creatures concluded their Harangue with Wishes for the King's Happiness, and his long Reign.

Windah
Government.

THESE Compliments being finished, the Grandee from *Ardrab* is sent for, whose Office it is to crown the King. He is brought in Ceremony, the Cannons being discharged, the Guns firing, the Drums, Trumpets and Flutes intermingling. He enters the Court with his Attendants, who guard him to a certain Distance; while he advances singly to the Throne, saluting the King by gently bowing his Head, but without Prostration. After this he makes a short Speech to the King, with regard to the Ceremony he is to perform; and taking the Helmet off his Head, which he holds in his Hands, he turns to the People. A Signal is then made, at which all the Music and Acclamations cease, and a profound Silence follows. Then the Grandee of *Ardrab*, with a loud Voice, says, *Here is your King, be loyal to him, and your Prayers shall be heard by the King of Ardrab, my Master*. He repeats these Words three Times, and replaces the Helmet on the King's Head, making a low Bow. The Cannon and small Arms are immediately fired, the Music strikes up, and the Acclamations are renewed. While several Grandees reconduct the Lord from *Ardrab* to his Lodging, the King, attended by his Wives, his Guards, and the *Europeans*, returns to the Seraglio, where the last make their Compliments to him at the Gate as he enters. All the Cloaths and Ornaments the King wears on this Occasion belong by Right to the *Ardrab* Grandee; but as this might be an ill Precedent, he is content with a handsome Present, which the King sends him next Day, with fifteen Slaves, or their Value in Goods: After which he must return home, not being suffered to stay three Days longer in the Kingdom.

* See the Plan.

Slave-
Costs.

THE King never fails to send Presents to the a
Grandeens on the Day after his Coronation; who,
in their Turn, wait on him with their Thanks
and Presents of much greater Value. The Re-
joicings which follow the Coronation last for fif-
teen Days, and end with a grand Procession to
the House or Temple of the great Serpent.

S E C T. III.

The King's Revenue, State, and Expences.

The Crown Lands, tilled by the public Labour. The Taxes, Fifth Tax, Fine and Telle, Slave Tax, Customs and Duties. The King's Expences. Officers of the Crown. The King's State, in giving Audiences. Grandeens arbitrary. Privilege of the Whites. Marks of Royalty. King's Dress and Livory.

THE King's Revenues arise from his Lands, c
Duties on all Things bought or sold, the
Customs and Presents of the European Traders,
Fines and Confiscations.

Crown-Lands
tilled by

THE King's Lands lie not only about Sabi,
but in several Provinces of *Widdah*. All the Pro-
visions for his Household arise from thence: But
so he cannot consume the whole Produce in his
Palace, he sells the Overplus to great Advantage,
which renders this one of the best Revenues of
the Crown. These Lands are tilled without any
Expence to him, and by such free Service, that
he does not so much as give the Vassals Water;
nor can they sow their own Lands till the royal
Work be done. This Service they are obliged
to perform three Times a Year, and the Signal is
three Cannon fired the Evening before they meet.
On this Warning the Grandeens conduct their
People before the King's Palace at Day-break
next Morning, where they sing and dance for a
Quarter of an Hour. Half of them are armed
as for Battle, with their Trumpets, Drums, and
Flutes. The other Moiety have Spades, which
is their sole Instrument for Tillage. The Iron
of these Spades is as broad as the Hand, and is of
their own Forging. It is thin, and has a Socket
for the Handle, which is not strait as with us,
but crooked in a right Angle^b. This Instrument
is so far convenient, that the Labourer is not
obliged to stoop as he works. After these People
have sung and danced some Time before the Pa-
lace Gate, while the Grandeens receive the King's
Orders from the first Valet de Chambre, they fly
like Bucks to the Places assigned them; and while
these armed sing and dance to the Music, near

The public
Labour.

the Grantee, who inspects the Work, the La-
bourers work briskly to the Tune of the Instru-
ments, so that it seems a Diversion rather than a
Toil. They break-up the Ground in high Ridges,
those of the King's Lands being higher than those
of the Subjects. They plant or sow two Days
after. At Night they return to sing and dance
before the Palace, while the Grandeens, who over-
saw the Work, give an Account to the King;
after which every one repairs home.

Whidah
Government.

As the King's Lands do not all lie round Sabi,
but are in different Provinces, the Governors
take Care of their being tilled, get in the Harvest,
and lay-up the Produce in the King's Magazines
without the least Expence. It is by the same
Services they build and keep in Repair the King's
Palace, and the Temple of the great Serpent.

THE Taxes and Customs in Proportion to the Tax-
Country are very considerable, the King having
the Titles of all Things sold in the Markets, or
imported into the Country, of what Kind soever
they be^c. His *Whidah* Majesty does not farm
them out, as is often practised in *Europe*, to the
Destruction of Trade, but has above a thousand
Collectors dispersed through all Market-Roads
and Passages for gathering the Toll; which (every
Thing whatever that is bought or sold, being
liable to pay in Money or Kind) amounts to an
incredible Sum. This, if all honestly paid-in,
would make the King very rich; but the Col-
lectors so largely fleece it, that scarce one Fourth
comes to his Majesty: Although, if any of these
should be found guilty of Corruption, the least
Punishment would be the Sale of themselves, Fa-
mily and Effects, for the King's Benefit^d.

THE six Custom-Houses he has at the Ferries,
and at the Avenues of the Kingdom, bring him
in large Duties. Those on the Frontiers not be-
ing fixed, the Officers exact as much as they can,
which is a great Inconveniency to Merchants and
Travellers. None are exempted from these but
the *Europeans*, with the Grandeens and their Do-
mestics^e.

MARCHAIS observes, that even the Tax^f
raised daily on Fish is more than enough to en-
rich a Negro King, if he received but the fourth
Part of it, which is as much as the Fraud of the
Officers who collect it generally allows him. The
Produce of this Duty is appropriated to maintain
the King's Women; such of them as approach
his Person, being always richly dressed^g. We
are told by *Bisman*, that the Tolls only of two
very fine large Rivers^h, one running by the two
Poper, the other by *Tekin*, are worth an hun-
dred Slaves each, (which yet is not above half

^a See *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 54, & seq.

^b See the Figure.

^c *Marchais*, as before.

^d p. 80, and 205, & seq.

^e *Bisman's Description of Guinea*, p. 362.

^f *Marchais*, as before, p. 81.

^g The same, p. 188.

^h That is, the *Euphrates* and *Torris*.

Slaves-
Costs.

what the Collectors receive) they are so plentifully stored with Fish.

Fines and
Tolls.

ONE Moiety of all the Fines and Tolls in his Vice-Royalties belongs to him, but *Bosman* questions if he gets a Fourth^a. The Confiscations of Body and Goods, which are his Perquisites, yield large Sums.

MARSHALL observes, that this State, one of the smallest in *Guinea*, without Mines of Gold, Ivory, or any valuable Commodities, is one of the richest and most flourishing on the Coast, only by the Slave Trade, which is very considerable here^b; and consequently the Profit of the King, who has five *Gallies* of *Bijis* a Head for each Slave sold in his Dominions.

Slave-Tax.

THERE are three head Collectors over this Branch of Trade, according to *Bosman*; each of which is to receive a Rixdollar, as the King's Toll, for every Slave that is traded for: But these Gentlemen, like the rest, agree underhand with those that sell the Slaves, so that the King receives nothing of it. Indeed with respect to Slaves sold for *Bijis*^c, better Care is taken, the Sum bargained for being paid in the King's Presence, out of which he receives three Rixdollars for every Slave: Yet some, fetching their Money by Night, or at unreasonable Hours, do contrive to cozen him; for the *Europeans*, having constant Occasion for their Help, cannot refuse them their Money whenever they demand it^d.

Customs and
Duties.

THE Duties on Goods, exported and imported, is a certain Revenue. Each *European* Vessel here pays him at least a Custom to the Value of twenty Slaves; without reckoning the Presents and Loans made him, which are so much lost to those who make them^e.

EACH Ship trading here, either by Toll, Trade, or Custom, pays the King about four hundred Pounds *sterling*; and sometimes fifty Ships come hither in a Year, though, at other Times, not above half that Number^f.

THE Customs, or usual Presents, which the *Europeans* make to the King, for his Protection and the Liberty of Trade, are a large Revenue^g. In short, *Bosman* affirms, that, if the King was not cheated, he would have a vast Income, and be a potent Prince, for this Part of the Globe. But how great soever, continues he, the King's Revenue may be, he has Occasion enough for it^h: Besides the large Sums which he

The King's
Expenses.

a daily furnishes for the Destruction of *Pope*, and to subdue *Offra*, the necessary Expenses of his Household, and the rich Offerings he is obliged to make to his *Fetiches*, he keeps four thousand Men continually, whom he supplies with Meat and Drink; and though he looks on his Subjects as his Slaves, yet, when he employs them, he is obliged to pay them dear enough.

THE King's Charge is likewise greatly augmented by his Presents to the *Europeans*, which, if he likes the Persons, are considerable; their Tables being daily furnished by him with Sheep, Hogs, Fowl, Beef, or what else can be got together; besides Bread, Fruit, Beer, with their Appurtenances, and that more than enough. In *Bosman's* Time, the King treated the *Dutch* better than any other Nation, and frequently sent them a double Portion: But since then, they have been used with very small Distinction, the Trade having been managed by the Captains of Ships; who being ignorant of the Manners of the Natives, (a discerning, polite People) do not treat them with that Decency they requireⁱ. Hence the Author ventures to foretel the Ruin of the Slave-Trade here; for this Misconduct, he says, will certainly raise the Price of Slaves: But he drops the Point, for fear of angriying the Sailors, who fancy they understand the Trade as well as the Factors^j.

THE King of *Whidah* observes great State on all public Occasions. This appears, first, in his Officers, or those who bear Commands or Employments under him.

THE Posts, or Offices, which this King bestows, are of three Sorts: First, the Vice-Roys, here called *Fidalgoes*, or *Governadors*^k, which compose the first State of the Kingdom. These in the King's Absence, and in their Vice-Royalties, command as arbitrarily, and keep-up as great State, as the King himself. The second are his chief Captains, here called grand Captains, most of whom are also Vice-Roys. The third are the common Captains, of whom there are a great Number; and each has a particular Character, as Captain of the Market; Captain of the Slaves; a third, of the *Trenks*, or Prisons; a fourth, of the Shore: In short, for every Affair that can be thought of, the King has his Overseer. Besides these, there are a great Number of honorary Captains, without any Offices.

^a *Bosman's Description of Guinea*, p. 362.

^b In the Original, *Bosjes*.

^c *Bosman*, as before, p. 362.

^d *Bosman*, as before, p. 362.

^e The worth of Negroes would not be guilty of such Excesses among *Europeans*.

^f Terms taken from the *Portuguese*: The first signifies *Gentlemen*; the latter, *Governors*. This shews the Influence they must have had formerly in this Country, where now they are become so abject.

^g *Marshall's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 80, & seq. and 187.

^h *Bosman*, as before, p. 362.

ⁱ *Marshall*, as before, p. 187.

^j *Marshall*, on the contrary, says,

that his Revenues are the more considerable, as his Expenses are small. See his *Poy. at Gambia*, vol. 2. p. 187.

^k *Bosman*, as before.

Slave-Cloth.

All these Posts are purchased, with a round Sum, a put-on his Cloaths and Ornaments, and gives the King Notice of his Departure by his Small Arms and the Noise of his Drums, Trumpets, &c. intermixed with the Acclamations of his Followers. This slavish Ceremonial is the Reason why the Grandees seldom wait on the King, unless on pressing Affairs: For there is scarce per-

Whiten
Crowncoat.The King's
Nylon

The greatest State Councils here are usually held at Night, unless on extraordinary Occasions.

Grandees,
arbitrary.

ALTHOUGH the Education of the King, while a Prince, is so very abject, yet, as soon as he ascends the Throne, he is no longer considered as a Mortal, but as a Divinity, and approached with the same Respect and Fear. No Subject is admitted to see him, unless called for, or by his Permission; nor must he appear in his Presence, but kneeling or prostrate on his Belly. When they go to salute him in the Morning, they lay themselves flat before the Door, kiss the Earth thrice, and clapping their Hands, whisper some Words of Adoration: This done, they crawl forwards on all Four, where they repeat the same Reverence. With a single Word he makes them tremble, but as soon as his Back is turned, they forget their Fear, not much regarding his Commands, knowing how to appease and delude him with a Lie or two.

MARCHEAIS says, they advance creeping to a certain Distance, till the King, by clapping his Hands softly, gives them Leave to speak, which they do in a low Tone, with few Words, and their Face always close to the Ground. No Person, adds he, not even the greatest Lords, are exempted from this slavish Ceremonial; only the Captain of the Seraglio, and the great Sacrificer, or High Priest, have a Liberty of entering the Seraglio without Leave asked; but, if they would speak to the King, they must observe the same Form.

SHOULD their People, at any Time, think the Audience too long, or suspect any Mischief has befallen their Master, they would force the King's Guards, and would soon lose all Respect for Majesty, if he was not delivered up to them. As the Guards do not exceed an hundred Men, and the Grandees generally carry six or seven hundred to attend them on these Occasions, they run no great Hazard, nor dares his Majesty proceed to any Extremities against them; and as they often make War on each other without asking his Leave, so, in case their Privileges were violated, they would all join against him.

ATKINS informs us, that if any Subjects want Audience, they ring a Bell to give Notice; and if admitted must prostrate before his grand Fetichman, or High Priest, if present, as well as his Majesty. He adds, that white People are seldom or never admitted to his Presence, but at the Times they pay their Customs.

ON this Occasion, *Marchais* observes, that the Directors of the European Companies, Cap- tains of Ships, and, in general, all the Whites who wait on the King, either at their Arrival or Departure from *Sabi*, are exempted from this Ceremonial. They are granted an Audience whenever they desire it: They salute the King as they do the Noblemen in Europe. He takes them by the Hand, makes them sit down, drinks to them; and if it be the first Visit, and the Persons be Directors or Commanders of Ships, they are generally saluted with five or seven Guns, as they leave the Palace. In this Manner he received the Chevalier *des Marchais*, who had his first Audience, *January* the twelfth, 1725.

Is this Place of Audience there are two Foot Benches, one broad, covered with a Cloth, and furnished with an oval Stool, according to the Custom of the Country: This is for the King.

* *Bajoun's Description of Guinea*, p. 362.

same, p. 43.

same, p. 200.

before, p. 40.

* *Bajoun*, as before, p. 365.

* The same.

* *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2, p. 62.

* *Marchais*, as before, p. 44, & *seq.*

* *Atkins's Voyage to Guinea*, p. 110.

* The

* The

* *Marchais*, as

Shew-
Chair.

and the other, covered with Mats, for the *Euro-
peans* to sit next the King and converse with him. This they do bare-headed, not by any Order, but they find it is well taken; they likewise always leave their Swords without, for the King does not like any should appear armed before him. It is diverting enough, according to our Author *Boisfan*, to spend a Day here with his Majesty, for besides being very good Company, he is continually entertaining you with the best Cheer he has.

Mark of
Royalty.

No Person drinks out of the same Glass, or b Cup, with the King, and if it chances to touch another's Lips, he never uses it more, though it be made of a Metal to be purged by Fire. When any *Euro-peans* eat in his Presence, (which he is very fond of) the Table is somewhat orderly set-out and served. All his Nobles lie prostrate around on the Earth while he is present, and what the *Euro-peans* leave is given to them; which they eat-up very greedily, whether they like it or not, and though they have ten Times better at home. In short, were it not for affronting the King's Diet, they would not touch it.

His principal *Grandeens* eat daily in his Presence; but no Man is permitted to see him eat, nor any Woman, except his Wives, which, the Author thinks, was intended, at first, to pass the King as a God upon the People; however, he drinks before every-body.

No Person is permitted to know the King's Lodging-Place: *Boisfan* once asked his greatest Minion *Carter**, where the King lay a-Nights; he answered with another Question, *Where does God lodge?* Just as much as it is possible, says he, to know the King's Bed-Chamber. This, probably, is done to preserve a deep Respect among the People; and that upon any sudden Invasion the King might have Time to save himself by Flight.

Dress and
Regalia.

The King is very magnificently clothed, in Silk, or Gold and Silver Stuffs; but he is dressed better than ordinary when he goes to visit any of the *Euro-peans*, which he can easily do unseen, all their Dwellings being built round his Palace. His Train, *Boisfan* thinks, is mean, being attended only by his Wives^b.

THE Colour of Red is so peculiar to the Court, that none but the King, his Wives, or Domestic, are allowed to wear it, either in Silk, Cotton, Wool, or Thread. The King's Wives always wear a Scarf of it, six Fingers broad and two Yards long, above their *Pagnes*, which they tie before and let the Ends hang down^c.

S E C T. IV.

The King's Household, Course of Life, and Funeral.

The King's Course of Life. His Wives: Death to touch, see, or approach them; yet treated at Slaves, and sold at such. The King's Sons. Great Confusion at the King's Death. New King chosen. Funeral of the Kings. Human Victims: The King's Favourite sacrificed. The two last Kings. Character of the first: His Way of Living: His Sons: Marries his own Daughters. The late King. Disagreement among Authors. Revolution in Whidah.

THE Ignorance and low Estate in which *King-Court* the King of *Whidah* is brought-up, makes^d *Life* him, when he comes to the Throne, generally give a Loose to Pleasures, especially as he finds his Condition so surprisingly altered^e.

THESE Monarchs are pretty idle in their Palace. They never stir-out but three Months after their Coronation, to visit the great Serpent; nor ever enter the Hall of Audience, but when the Directors and the other *Grandeens* have Business with him, or when he is to administer Justice to his Subjects. All the rest of his Time is spent in the Recelles of the Seraglio, attended by his Wives^f. Of these he has always in waiting, six of the first Order, richly dressed and adorned with Jewels, who kneel at his Side, their Faces bowed to the Ground. In this Posture they entertain and strive to divert him: They dress him, wait on him at Table, and by all Methods, rival each other who shall please him most. When he inclines to be alone with one of them, he touches her gently and claps his Hands together. Immediately the five others retire, and having shut the Doors, keep Watch till the happy Lady relieves the King. Six others relieve these, and are constantly succeeded by new Mistresses, as soon as the King gives the Signal.

THE King's Wives are distributed into three *His Wives* Classes. The first is composed of the most beautiful young Women among them, whose Number is not fixed. She by whom the King has the first Son, is at their Head, and considered as the Queen, or (as they stile it) the King's great Wife. She commands in the Seraglio, having none to controul her but the King's Mother, whose Authority is more or less, as her Influence with the King rises or falls. This Queen-Mo-

* *Phillips* calls him *Chatter*. See Vol. II. p. 315.^a *Marcacci's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 77.^b The same, p. 43.^c The same Author, p. 79. says, their Number is about two thousand; or, to speak properly, as many as he has a Mind to take. *Ibidem*, p. 110, says, they are about a thousand; others, three thousand.

Slave-
Cost.

ther has a separate Apartment at Court, with a Revenues for her Support, and when she is in Power, she never wants large Presents. She must however remain a Widow, not being allowed to marry again.

THE second Class consists of those who have had Children by the King, or whose Age or Disease has rendered unfit for the Royal Pleasures. The Number of these is also indeterminate.

THE third or lowest Class is formed of the Women who serve as Slaves to the King or his Wives; yet they are looked-on as the King's Wives, and, on that Account, it is Death for them to have an Affair with any Man, or to leave the Seraglio without Leave.

Death is
enough.

If any one happens barely to touch any Part of the Body of one of the King's Wives, designedly, or by the most unforeseen Accident in the World, his Head, or at least his Liberty is thereby forfeited, and he is doomed to perpetual Slavery: Wherefore, all who live near the King's Houses call out aloud, that his Wives may know there is a Man thereabouts.

ACCORDING to *Marchais*, they are so delicate on this Point, that if, in passing the Street, a Man should accidentally touch one of these Women, she must enter the Seraglio no more; both she and the Man are instantly sold: But if it appears there was any premeditated Design in their touching each other, the Woman is sold, but the Man is put to Death, and all his Effects confiscated to the King. On this Account, those who enter the Courts of the Palace, where the King's Wives are numerous, constantly cry-out *Age, Age*; that is, *Make way, retire, or take Care*; and the Women always keep on one Side.

2000, or 2500
persons there.

FOR the same Reason, (as is before-mentioned) the King is served by his Wives in his House, not permitting any Man to enter the Walls thereof, unless to repair it, or do what the Women cannot; on which Occasion, they retire to another Part of it. When the Workmen are tiling the King's House, they continually call-out, that the King's Wives may, during that Time, keep within; for if they should happen to see them only, it would be imputed to them as a Crime.

So when the King's Wives go to Field to work, as they do daily by Hundreds, they are certain, whenever they meet a Man, to cry-out *Stand clear*: After which, he either immediately falls on his Knees, or flat on the Ground, and waits their passing by him, without presuming to move as to look at them.

PHILLIPS observed, that when the King's

Women appeared, all other Negroes quitted the Path; and that if any of the *English* happened to be walking in their Way, they would stop, call to them, and make Signs with their Hands for them to go aside. As they passed, they would salute them by bowing their Heads, and kissing their Hands, laughing often very loud, and staring at them as if they were so many Monsters.

Which
Governments.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this Honour paid to the King's Wives by others, his Majesty has very little Respect for them himself. They attend him on all Occasions like Servants, and execute all his Orders in the Place of his Residence, like Constables, or Bailiffs. What is worst of all, as they are in effect his Slaves, so he sells them for such to the *Europeans* at Pleasure: So that their Apartments may rather be called Slave-Houses than a Seraglio. *Marchais* affirms, that when the King has no Slaves in his Prisons, he takes without Ceremony as many of his own Wives as he thinks fit, who are on the Spot stamped with the Mark of the Company that buys them, and sent to *America*. *Phillips* confirms this, declaring, that often when Ships were in great Strait for want of Slaves, and could not be supplied, the King, who then reigned in 1693, would sell three or four hundred of his Wives to complete the Number.

It is not to be doubted that *Phillips* speaks by *And sold as Experience*; but it does not appear that the *Dutch* met with such Cargos of Queens: For *Bosman*, who was at *Whidah* about the same Time with that Author, says only, that the King, on Account of the least Disgust or Trifle, sometimes sells eighteen or twenty of his Wives: Yet, continues he, this does not at all diminish their Complement, for three of his principal Captains, Governors of his Seraglio, daily supply their Places with fresh Ladies. Whenever they see a beautiful Virgin, they immediately present her to the King, which none of his Subjects dare refuse or contradict. When a Lady thus presented happens to please him, he does her the Honour to caress her once or twice, after which she is obliged to pass the Remainder of her Life like a Nun: For which Reason the Women are so far from being greedy of the Honour of being the King's Wives, that some prefer a speedy Death before such a miserable Life.

ABOUT two Years ago, these Captains attempting to kidnap a beautiful young Girl, she not chusing a Nun's Life, fled from them, and as they pursued her, threw herself, through Desperation, into a deep Well, in which she was fished.

* *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 62, & seq.

same, p. 345.

Up, as before, p. 219.

* *Phillips's Voyage to Guinea*, p. 222.

† *Bosman*, as before;

† *Bosman's Description of Guinea*, p. 345.

* *Marchais*, as before, p. 82.

† *Marchais*, as before, p. 65, 82, 180.

* The

Phil.

Slave-
Court.

WE must not forget to take Notice of one a very notable Privilege, which, *Akins* tells us, the King gives entirely to his Women: Namely, that of making and selling their Country Beer, called *Pitte*, (or *Pissau*.)

King's Son.

WITH regard to the King's Children and their Education, Authors differ. *Dofman* speaks as if they were all bred up in the Palace till of Age; and says, the eldest Son of the King, in his Time, lived at *Sabi*: But, according to *Marchais*, the Heir is educated at a Distance from Court, in a very abject Way, and unacquainted with his Condition. Both these Authors declare the Crown to be hereditary, or, at least, elective in the Royal Family; but *Phillips* makes the Grandees Candidates on this Occasion: He asserts, that the King's Sons, after grown to any Stature, do not come near him but in private, for fear of giving Umbrage to the great *Kabishirs*, each of whom expects after his Decese to be elected; and that they pay those great Men c as much Respect as the meanest Subjects do.

Great Council.

THE King of *Whiduh* being only attended by Women, when he dies, his Queen, or great Wife, gives Notice of it to the Grandees, who are obliged to keep it secret for three Months. During this Interval, they meet and agree which of the King's Son the Crown shall devolve to, if the eldest be judged unworthy to succeed, as it happened in 1725. When these three Months are expired, the King's Death is published, and serves for a Signal, or general Permission to the People to do whatever they please: All Laws, Order, and Government seem to cease. Those who have Enemies to be revenged on, or Passions to gratify, take this Time to commit all Sorts of Disorder and Excess: So that wise People keep at home, since, if they go abroad, they are exposed to be robbed, or beaten, or perhaps killed. None but the Grandees and *Eurpans* can stir out with Safety, and they take Care to do it well armed and attended as not to fear the Insults of the Populace.

At the King's Death.

THE Women keep close for fear of Outrages, and the Disorder and Tumult is horrible. Luckily it lasts but four or five Days from the Publication of the King's Death, which Time the Grandees employ to seek the Prince, who is destined to mount the Throne, and bring him to the Palace. Immediately the Cannon are discharged, to let the People know there is a King, and immediately f Things return into their former Order: Trade revives, the Markets are opened, and every-body Mends their Business as before.

BOSMAN takes Notice of this Time of

Confusion. There is a very odd Custom, says that Author, on the King's Death; for then every-body kills a stealing his Neighbour's Goods as hard as he can, which is done with an entire Impunity during the Interregnum; but as soon as the new King is confirmed, he publishes an Edict forbidding it, which is strictly obeyed. And if the Commanders cannot agree in electing a King, however, to prevent the Continuance of this Disorder, they tell the People they have chosen one, and, in his Name, publish the fore-mentioned Proclamation.

THE same Author adds, that the chusing, or *New King* confirming a new King seldom continues long in Dispute; for the eldest Son no sooner hears of the King's Death, than he immediately makes his Interest among his Friends, to take Possession of his Predecessor's Court and Wives. The younger Brother's Party always take Care to have him near at Hand, with the same View, because whoever succeeds, needs not doubt the rest; for the Commonalty will not easily consent, after that, to have him dethroned.

IT being the Custom to erase the Palace of the deceased King, they employ the three Months after his Decese in building a new one, for the Residence of the new King, and in removing thither all his Wives, which fall to the Successor; none but the Mother of the deceased King, and that of the present, being exempted from the Law.

As soon as the new King is in Possession of the Palace, he gives Order for his Father's Funeral. Of this the People have Notice, by five Cannons fired at Day-break, five at Noon, and five more at Sun-set. These last are followed by frightful Shrieks all through the Palace, from whence no Woman is permitted to stir. The great Sacrificer, who has the Direction of the Ceremony, causes a Grave to be dug, fifteen Foot square and five deep. In the Center of which he sinks another Cavity, eight Foot square, covered over Head, in the Middle of which the Body of the deceased King is placed with great Ceremony. He then chuses eight of his favourite Wives, who are dressed in their richest Apparel, in order to attend him in the other World, and are loaded with Victuals and Drink for his Use. In this Manner they are conducted to this Vault, or Tomb, in which they are shut-up alive, or rather soon smothered by the Earth thrown into the Cavity.

AFTER these Women, are brought the Men, *Homon* who are appointed for the same Purpose. The Number of these is not fixed, but depends on the Pleasure of the King and the grand Sacrificer.

* *Akins's Voyage*, p. 111.
in the three Months before.
tion of *Guinea*, p. 360.

* *Phillips's Voyage*, p. 219.

* *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 73, & 74.

† If so, how can they conceal his Death from the People?

* It is strange they should not do it.

* *Bosman's Description*.

Europe
Coast.

As no-body knows on whom the Lot may fall, the Domestics of the late King, both Men and Women, endeavour to get out of the Way at these Seasons, and return not till the Ceremony is over. One only of the King's Officers is infallibly bound to attend him out of the World, and this Person goes by the Name of his Favourite. He has no Manner of Employment about the Palace, nor is he allowed to enter it, but when he has some Favour to ask. He then makes his Request to the grand Sacrificer, who informs the King of it, and nothing is refused him, let him ask what he will.

King's Palace.

This Person has a Right to take in the Markets whatever he pleases for his own Use, and no-body can oppose him in this but the *Euro-peans*. He is dressed in a long Robe, with wide Sleeves, and a Hood much like the *Benedictines*. He may have it of white Linen, or Chints, or Brocade, and when he appears abroad, he carries a Cane in his Hand. He is greatly respected, and exempted from all Taxes, Duties, or Services of any Kind. His Life is happy, if it did not depend on that of another; but it must be imbibed by the Thoughts that it ends with that of his Master. As soon as ever the King dies, he is closely watched, and is the first who loses his Head after the King's favourite Wives are smothered in his Grave.

Sacrificial.

All those who are killed to serve the King in the other World, have their Heads cut-off, and, by the grand Sacrificer's Order, their Bodies are laid with their Heads by them, and buried round the King's Vault. They raise over them a Heap of Earth, terminated like a Pyramid, on the Top of which they place the King's Arms, which he used in his Life-time, surrounding them with a great Number of *Fishes*, or small Figures of Earth, which serve for tutelary Deities, to watch the Place. When this is done, they demolish the Palace, except the outer Wall, and rebuild it again, according to the Taste, or Pleasure of the new King.

ATKINS remarks, that there is a large Dole made to the People on the Death of one Prince and the Accession of another, who has a large Sword delivered to him by a grand *Fetichman*.

See Vol. II. p. 110.

We meet with an Account of only two or three Kings of *Whidah*; the first is mentioned by *Phillips*, who has a good deal about him and his Court. He was a spare Man, of a mean Aspect, and middle Stature, but sprightly Temper, and, in 1694, or 95, about sixty Years of Age, as that Author guessed. This was probably the same who reigned three or four Years after, when

Whidah
Government
a *Bushman* was in the Country. This Author's Account of him, and his Way of living, compared with that given by *Phillips*, will furnish the Reader with several Particulars relating to the State of the Kings of *Whidah*, not to be found in what has been already said upon that Subject.

THE King, in *Bushman's* Opinion, was aged some Years above fifty, but as vigorous and as sprightly as a Man of thirty-five. He was the most civil, generous Negro that Author ever knew: But some rascally Flatterers, by continually buzzing Lessons of good Husbandry in his Ears, (not to save Expenses, but to secure the Savings to themselves) had so changed him at length, that he grew obstinate and humourous in trading with the *Dutch*. At first he left it to them what to offer; but afterwards he would have every Thing his own Way, demanding the choicest and most vendible Part of their Goods for his Slaves. This fell very hard on the Merchant, since he is obliged to give him one Third, one Fourth, or one Fifth at least extraordinary for every Slave; and the best Goods being gone, the rest go off to a Disadvantage.

ONCE, or, at most, twice a Year he goes a-*No Way* of broad, when he appears in a Sort of splendid *Re-ception*. He is more especially accompanied by his Wives, who amount to above a Thousand, each dressed in her most sumptuous Attire. At these Times all his most beautiful Wives, who are continually shut-up very closely, may be seen, and with them a rich Treasure of Coral worth more than Gold. In this Progress he is not attended by one Man, but notifies to all his Grantees where he intends to divert himself. Thither they repair to wait for him, still taking Care to keep far enough off his Wives, being allowed no greater Favour than to see them as they pass by. The rest of the Year his Majesty abides at home, indulging no other Pleasure than what his Wives afford him; except when he goes to the Place of Audience to be informed by his Captains if any thing has happened, or to impart his Commands to them.

THIS done, he goes to the Place of Audience appointed by the *Euro-peans* to talk with them about Trade, where the Author had spent many Days with him in one Sort of Game or another, to all which (as is usual here) he is strangely addicted. They played for an Ox, Hog, or Sheep, &c. but never for Goods or Money; and he always sent the Author his Losses, without desiring his Winnings.

THE King's Children, besides the smallest ones, yet kept within Doors, were, three Sons, and one Daughter, all very handsome, especially

* See the Figure.

three Months next after the King's Death.

Voyage, p. 110.

† Above, it is said, by the same Author, to be demolished and rebuilt within the

See Vol. II. p. 405, & 407.

March's Voyage, vol. 2. p. 74. & 177.

‡ *Bushman's* Description of Guinea, p. 120, & 121.

Fig. 1. p. 17

E. 3. Dress of 4 Grandees.
E. 2. Dress of 4 Kings' Wives.
from Marshalls

Fig. 2. p. 17



Fig. 3.

AGOYE, God of Councils.

p. 26



Fig. 4.

the King's Favorite.

p. 30



King's Sepulchre.

Fig. 5.

p. 49



Steve. Cost. the eldest, who was the most beautiful Negro *Bosman* ever saw. By Birth he is Heir apparent to the Crown, but of such a roguish, perverse Principle, that it was to be hoped he will not succeed, since the Land would suffer very much by it.

He had his Emisaries in all Quarters to steal from the *Europeans* as well as the Blacks; nor did he spare even his Father. He never stirred out of his House till the Evening, at which Time *Bosman* had often the Honour of a Visit from him. His Reason for keeping home all Day was, on one Side, Haughtiness, scornful to shew himself to the Commonalty, and on the other, to avoid the Necessity of appearing in his Father's Presence.

The King's second Son was very like his Father, whom he imitated in all Manner of Civility, wherefore the *Grandeess* made their Court to him. Whence the Author concluded, that after the King's Demise, the Country would be involved in a civil War, for that the Majority would set up the younger Son, while the eldest would oppose him with foreign and domestic Force. In such Case *Bosman* hoped the *Europeans* would espouse the Party of the younger Brother, as they did the present King, whose good Disposition, induced the *Dutch*, *French* and *Portuguese* to drive his eldest Brother out of the Country, and fix him on the Throne.

Maria his Daughter. This King married two of his own Daughters, but they dying quickly after, he imagined the Gods that Way punished him for his Crime, which has drawn from him an Oath never to repeat it for the future. To prevent Temptation, in the Author's Time he married his only Daughter to the *English* Company's Factor at *Whidah*. *Bosman*, once talking freely with his Majesty by Way of Jest, imposed a Sort of Fine on him for not making him the first Offer of the Princess. The King willingly paid the Fine, adding withal, e that though his Daughter was married, she was at his Service if he had a Mind for her, since one Word was sufficient to call her home. Thus, it seems, this King's Daughters are very cheap; but the *Mitcher* is, says *Bosman*, that marrying a King's Daughter in this Country is no great Advantage, else I would long since have been happy that Way.

The late King. This King's Successor seems to be he who reigned in 1721, when *Atkins* was at *Whidah*, who says, that he was fattened to a monstrous Bulk, and had never been out of his Palace since he became King, which was high twelve Years. Some say this is, continues that Author, because a large Dole being due to the People on the De-

mise of one, and the Accession of another Prince, his Covetousness keeps him within Doors: Others say, there is wanted a Sword, the Emblem of his Power, which should be, but is not yet, delivered him by some grand *Fetichman* beyond *Jakin*.

In 1725, according to *Marchant*, a new King, named *Amor*, ascended the Throne, on which Occasion the younger Brother was exalted in Prejudice to the Elder. But this Circumstance seems to be contradicted in the next Page, where the same Author says, that the present King of *Whidah* kept the Hogs of his reputed Father with whom he was educated: In which Case he must have been the eldest Son or Heir, since none else, by his own Account, are educated in such an abject Manner.

THERE is even very great Reason to doubt, if there was a new King enthroned in 1725, although *Marchant* (or his Editor for him) affirms, that he was present at the Coronation, of which we have already given the Detail: For according to the Account of *Smith* and *Snelgrave*, the King, who reigned in 1726 and 27, must be the same who ruled when *Atkins* was at *Whidah* in 1721, the first agreeing with the last, that the King was the largest and fattest Man he ever saw; the latter says, the King came to the Crown when he was fourteen Years of Age, and that he was past thirty at the Time of the Revolution in 1726. This will place his Accession to the Throne in 1710, but a Year later than what results from *Atkins*'s Remark, that he had been King twelve Years in 1721.

For a farther Account of this King, and the Revolution aforesaid, occasioned by his Luxury and ill Conduct, the Reader may consult what has already been related by *Smith* and *Snelgrave*.

SECT. V.

The Forces, Arms, and Wars of *Whidah*.

Forces of Whidah. The *Natives* great *Cowards*. Their Discipline bad. Way of fighting, and treating Enemies. Their Arms: Guns: *Bucklers*: *Bows* and *Arrows*: *Swords*: *Clubs*: *Darts*: *Assagays*. Their Wars. Invaded by *Affri*, or *Atorin*. He is *poisoned*.

THE King of *Whidah* can easily, without any new Expence, raise two hundred thousand Men. The *Grandeess* are obliged for this Purpose to furnish their respective Quotas properly armed, and these Troops must find their own Provisions, though it is probable the King sap-

* *Bosman's* Description of *Guinea*, p. 366.

† See before, Vol. II. p. 479. b.

* The same, p. 346.

† The same, p. 488.

* *Atkins's* Voyage, p. 110.

† See the same, p. 479, and 488.

Slave-Craft.

plies them with Powder and Ball. An Army to a numerous and easily maintained might render this Prince very formidable; if the Natives were stout: But indeed they are so weak and harmless, that they would not venture to attack five Thousand well armed Men, though but Negroes of the *Gold-Coast*, nor scarce face them.

For this several Reasons might be assigned: As first, they are so strongly bent to Trade and Agriculture, that they never think of War. In the next Place, they want able Commanders; for if they are forced into the Field, they entrust the Command of their whole Army to a worthless Person, never standing for any Proof of his Courage: But the chief Cause is the Fear of Death, which generally prevails, and makes them such incredible Cowards, that most of them run away before the Enemy appears. If any of the chief Men happen to have any Share of Courage, and go into the Field, Affairs move somewhat better; but the other Heroes (by whom the inferior will not be commanded) no sooner perceive any thing coming against them, than they trust to their Heels for Safety; and it is commonly observed, that the Commander in Chief is at home before his Soldiers, if he be but moderately nimble, without regarding, in general Flight, what becomes of his Army: However he is assured, that his Men will not stay long behind. Hence one may judge what Heroes they are in attacking other Countries. But to say the Truth, continues our Author, they shew some more Courage in the Defence of their own Country as long as possible. We know not on what Foundation *Bushman* speaks so much in their Behalf: But Experience shews the contrary, since they lately suffered their Army to be routed, and Country subdued by a Handful of the King of *Dahome's* Troops.

Persons acquainted with Discipline would be shocked to see their Manner of disposing their Troops for a Battle, which is so disorderly, that two thousand *European* regular Troops would easily defeat two hundred thousand Negroes. They never carry any Artillery to the Field, having neither Camels nor Horses to draw it, nor any Sieges to employ it in: Besides, they might easily lose it in their Marches. It is strange the Negroes should be so cowardly at home, who in *America* are often so desperately bold, that they will face the greatest Dangers as heroically as a *Cæsar*. Perhaps the Reason is, that here the Fear of Slavery, which is the Fate of all Prisoners of War, intimidates them; and there Desperation, or the Hopes of freeing themselves from that Misery,

animates. For all their Cowardice and Fear, they may seem to be fond of War, which they make so often, and for such trifling Reasons, that they can never be said to be at Peace: Let who will reconcile the Paradox.

THEIR Manner of fighting is thus: Each Grandee leads his own Men, of whom they form large Bodies, or Platoons, but without Rank or Order. When they are more numerous than the Enemy, they strive to surround them: When both Sides are equal, the War is soon over. Each Party retires as it can, without Fear of being pursued in their Retreat. When they cannot do this, and chance to be posted so, that they cannot easily retire, the Danger makes them desperate. They know they must conquer or die, or be made Slaves. They begin with Shouts, Scolding, and Menaces. They fire their small Arms; their Drums and Trumpets make a terrible Noise. In a Moment the Sky is covered with a Cloud of Arrows. They advance closer to each other, lancing their *Affagays* and Darts, and shielding themselves with their large Bucklers, so that their Heads can scarce be seen. Thus the Battle grows hot; the Noise increases, and they come to close Fighting with their Sabres and Knives. Their Fury is then so great, that they seldom give or take Quarter, so that the Slaughter is generally very bloody. At last the weakest Side takes to Flight: The Conquerors pursue, and make as many Slaves as they can; after which, they return to the Field of Battle, and strip the Dead of their Waist-Cloth, which is soon done. These and their Arms they carry-off, with their Enemies Heads, which they cut-off as Tokens of their Valour.

THE King, who remains with his Wives in the Seraglio, receives his victorious Army seated on his Throne, praises and rewards them for their Services, and takes the Tenth of the Slaves they have made. After this each returns home, fixes up the Heads he has brought, and then sells his Slaves to the *Europeans*. Sometimes the Relations of the Persons enslaved propose to buy them, but the Owners hold them always at so exorbitant a Rate, that rarely any are redeemed.

THEY reckon it no Dishonour to throw-down their Arms, and run from an Enemy, their Grandees usually setting them a good Example this Way. If they can get home safe, they rest no Reproach.

THE *Widab*-Blacks have one great Advantage of their Neighbours, that they are well provided with Fire-Arms, which they know very well how to use. And if they were but well trained

* *Bushman's Description of Guinea*, p. 393; and *Marchant's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 183.
before. See before, Vol. II. p. 498. c.

* *Bushman*, 25

Silver
Chests.

and officered, they would soon be Masters of all the Nations round them.

Their Arms.

THE ARMS of the *Wuidah*-Negroes consist in a few Muskets, Bows and Arrows, fine well-made Hangers, and strong beautiful *Affagayes*; but the principal Weapons on which they most depend, are a Sort of Clubs.

Guns.

THEIR GUNS, as well as Powder and Ball, they have from the *European* Traders, whose Imprudence in this Respect is very great, as they furnish them with Weapons to destroy themselves. The only Piece of Wildom shewn on this Occasion is, that the Gun they sell them are none of the best; but the Negro Workmen know very well how to mend them, and keep them in Order. They handle them well, and fire true; so that they want only Courage and Conduct.

Bucklers.

THEY all wear Bucklers four Foot at least long, and near two broad; some covered with Ox-Hides, others with Elephant's Skins: But as these Materials render them heavy, the *Wuidah*-Blacks seldom use them, but make others of *Bukurfishes*, well wrought, and so close, that no Arrows can pierce them.

Bows.

THEIR Bows are large and strong, commonly about five Foot long, made of hard, tough Wood, of which they have Plenty in the Forests near the *Eufrates*. The Trees of these Woods are too numerous to be respected as Divinities. Their Arrows are of Reeds, the Point, which is firmly ingrafted and fixed, is of Iron, which they forge themselves, or of Wood hardened in the Fire, after it is shaped.

Swords.

THE *Europeans* furnish them with Sabres or Hangers, some straight, others crooked, and broad at the End. The Handle, as usually, has no Guard. These Weapons are large and heavy, which shows the Strength of those who use them. The Blades are three Foot long, and those their own Smiths make are yet sharper and heavier. Such as cannot afford them of Steel, have them of Wood in the same Form, but more clumsy and heavy. They do not cut, but are very fit for breaking a Skull or an Arm.

Clubs.

INSTEAD of these they sometimes use wooden Clubs. These, according to *Busman*, are about a Yard long, and five or six Inches thick, very round and even, having a Knob at the End, the Breadth of an Hand and three Fingers thick. Every Man is provided with five or six of these.

THESE Clubs are made of very heavy Wood, and they are so dexterous in throwing them, that they will hit their Enemy at several Paces Distance, and wherever it falls it bruises very much, and breaks Limbs. The *Gold-Craft* Ne-

groes are almost as much afraid of these as of Muskets. According to *Marchais*, some of the Balls or Knobs (which are three or four Inches Diameter) are armed with Nails, having round or square Heads. These are a Kind of Maces, much like those used by the Savages of North America.

THEIR Darts are generally about four Foot long. The Shaft is bigger in the Middle than at the Ends, which augments the Force of the Stroke, and makes the Aim more certain. The Point is of Iron bearded, which makes the Wound more dangerous, on account of the Trouble of extracting the Dart. Those that are pointed with Wood, are made the same Way. It does not appear, that the *Wuidah*-Negroes have the Method of poisoning their Arrows as they do on the Western and *Gold Coast*.

THEIR *Affagayes* differ from their Darts only in Length, and the Shape of the Point, which is like those of our Half-Pikes, whether of Iron or Wood. They use both these last Weapons with great Address, and will hit a Crown at thirty Paces Distance. They rarely miss their Aim, if they shoot at a Mark. Each Soldier, who has not a Gun, is armed with a Buckler, a Sabre, or a Club, an *Affagaye*, and two or three Darts.

PHILLIPS informs us, that the *Wuidah*-*Thou Wars*, Blacks are constantly at Wars with the *Ardrab* and *Allampe* Men, the *Quambos* and *Achims*. All the Plunder is Men and Women to sell for Slaves. This Author had seen nine or ten Bags full of Men, Women and Childrens Heads at a Time brought to the King's Town (or *Sabl*) by the Soldiers returned from Ravaging, who, in great Scorn, would sling and kick them about, shouting for Joy of their Success against the Enemies. He adds, that there are but few of them without a Jaw-Bone, or Piece of Skull of some great Man, whom they say they have killed, hanging at the Handle of their Sword, which much resembles one of our Pruning-Bills.

THE same Author gives an Account of the Wars of *Afferi*, or *Afferi*, against *Wuidah*, somewhat different from that already extracted from *Busman* and *Marchais*, as follows:

ABOUT the Year 1692, the King of *Wuidah* (called by *Afferi*), was in great Dread of one *Afferi*, a neighbouring and warlike Prince, who used to trade with the *Europeans* on the *Allampe-Coast* for Slaves, and was in great Esteem with them, being of a more generous and noble Disposition than is usual among the Negroes. Upon some Disguist, *Afferi* made War upon the *Wuidah*-Blacks, gained many Battles over them, and declared, that before he

^a *Marchais's* Voyage, vol. 2. p. 188, & seq.

^b *Busman's* Description of Guinea, p. 395.

^c *Marchais*, as before, p. 195, & seq.

^d *Busman*, as before.

^e *Marchais*, as before, p. 195, & seq.

^f Or, *Aquandoo*. ^g By *Busman*, *Afferi*. See before, p. 5.

threaten his Sword, he would conquer the Country and cut-off the King's Head. This put the old Monarch in great Terror, and finding his Forces not able to withstand this furious Invader, resolved to accomplish by Treachery what he could not effect by Strength. To this Purpose, he set all his Engines at work; and, at length, corrupted two Negroes in *Afferi's* Army to poison their gallant Leader, which put a Period to all his Conquests: Yet still, his Name was so terrible to the King of *Whidah*, that, *Phillips* observed, he could not bear it mentioned without some Consternation upon his Spirits. We cannot determine, whether this Relation of *Phillips's*, or that of the other two Authors is most exact: We shall only observe, that *Phillips* was at *Whidah* several Years nearer the Time when the Transaction happened.

SECT. VI.

ACCOUNT of the Malays, a People trading at Whidah.

Their Origin uncertain. They frequent these Coasts. Their Character and Country. Commodities and Dress. Their Arms. Luminous Copper. Their Commerce. Religion and Language. Their Discovery proposed. Originally from Malakka. Their Persons.

IT is not exactly certain whence the People above-mentioned came, though they have traded to *Ardrab* for many Years. Not a Negro in these Parts has ever had the Curiosity, or Courage, to go to their Country with them to be informed.

The first of this Nation that appeared in *Whidah*, was in the Year 1704. They were but two, tall, well-made, with a good Mein. One of them was tawny, the other black. They could both write, and took-down an exact Account of what they saw, as well the Price of Goods, of which they informed themselves exactly, as the Manners and Customs of the People. This Curiosity and Exactitude in enquiring was fatal to them. They were put in Prison at *Whidah*, after sending back the Interpreter and Servants they had brought from *Jakin*, for fear of offending the King of *Ardrab* by detaining his Subjects. As to the *Malays*, being suspected as Spies, sent by their King to examine the State and Situation of *Whidah*, in order to conquer it, they were privately made away with.

The *Whidah* Negroes, who trade to *Ardrab*, have, since that Time, had an Opportunity of knowing these People there, and in the Coun-

tries to the North-East. They have found that they are honest People, peaceable, and inclined to deal justly; so that there is an advantageous Commerce to be carried-on with them, they bringing with them good Slaves, loaded with different Sorts of Commodities, which sell well. This favourable Account of them obliged the King and Grandees of *Whidah* to give them Assurances of their being well received at *Whidah*; that they should have Liberty to trade there with all Security: Which Engagements have been confirmed by Oath, in the Name of the grand Serpent. This has brought some of them to *Xavier*, and at *Jakin* the *Chevalier des Marchais* had an Opportunity of seeing them.

THESE People speak the *Arabic*, and write it well. They are lively, well skilled in Trade, and honest. They are brave, diligent, and curious. As to their Religion, the same Author was not certain, but thought it probable they were *Mahomedans*. They do not travel on Foot, like the *Whidah* Negroes, but have Horses as large as our Coach-Horses, which they never shoe, as they have black, hard Hoofs, though they are of different Colours.

THEY are three Moons, that is, ninety Days, in travelling from their Country to *Ardrab*; which, reckoning ten Leagues a Day, makes nine hundred Leagues: But as it is probable, in so long a Journey, they rest one Day in three, to ease their Slaves, who are loaded with Provisions and Goods, it may be computed, that their Country is not above six hundred Leagues from *Ardrab*.

THEY have Cotton Cloth, Muslins, and Calicoes, or Chintzes of *Persia* and *India*. They do not get these from the *Europeans*, whom they are wholly Strangers to; so that they must have them from the *Moors* of *India*, or the *Arabs*. Consequently they lie near the Red-Sea, or the Frontiers of *Abyssinia*.

THE *Malays* are dressed in long, wide Robes, plaited, which hang down to their Heels, with long, broad Sleeves, much like the Gowns of the *Benedictines*. A large peaked Cap is fastened to this Robe, with which they cover their Head on Occasion. These Gowns are of Woollen or Cotton Cloth, white or blue, for they wear no other Colours. They use Leather Sandals, and have Girdles or Sashes of Linen or Muslin, with large Handkerchiefs hanging to them, and Bags which serve for Pockets, pending at their Breast over their Gowns. With these Girdles they tuck-up their Robes, when they get on Horse-back. They shave all the Head, but are very careful to let their Beards grow, as they pride themselves in having them long and large.

Slave-
Coast.

Their Arms.

THEY carry no Arms on a Journey, but a Knife in a Sheath, fastened in their Girdle, and a Sabre three Foot and an half long, including the Handle. These Sabres are shaped like our Battle-axes for Shuttle-cock. The Blade is flat, and sharp at both Edges, and the Handle round. They get the Iron in their own Country, and temper it themselves. These Blades are so well wrought, that they can roll them up and carry them under their Arm like a Book. When they strike with the flat Side of it, it bends and is useless; but when they strike with the Edge, the Blade gives a terrible Blow. Some of these *Malays* at *Ardrab* have had Guns, which they also make in their own Country. They are shorter than ours, or rather are a Kind of Blunderbusses, which carry two-Ounce Balls. Their Powder is not so good as the *French*, yet they do not chafe the latter; perhaps because their Guns are too weak for it, without reflecting, that to remedy this, they need only take a less Quantity. Those who have seen their Fire-Arms, say they carry well, and that the Workmanship is like the *European*, but not so neat.

Luminous
Copper.

THE Country of the *Malays* abounds in Metals, as Gold, Silver, Lead, Copper, Pewter, and Iron. Their red Copper is of a peculiar Kind. They make large Rings of it, which they wear on the fore-Finger of the right-Hand. These Rings are Phosphorules, which being exposed on a Table or on the Ground, in a dark Place, give as great a Light as two Wax-Candles: So that they use no other Lamps in their Country. *Marchais* bought one of these Rings for about the Value of two Crowns in Goods, and found it answer on Trial. He intended to have brought it to *Europe*, but had the Misfortune to lose it. Rings of this precious Metal would be very useful, instead of Candles, on-board Ships, in Warehouses, and other Places where there is much Danger of Fire.

Their Com-
merce.

THE *Malays* do not sell one another: The Slaves they use at home, or bring to sell at *Ardrab* and *Whidah* are Strangers they buy on the Road, or get from the neighbouring Countries. They are much valued, being robust and serviceable. They always come loaded, either with Elephants'-Teeth, Cottons, or *Indian*-Calicos. For these they take nothing in Exchange but Brandy, in Anchors of four Gallons, and *Stijfs*. Of late they also buy some *European* Toys. They understand Trade well, and are not easily cheated, though they are very upright and just in their Dealing.

Religion and
Laws.

It is not easy to know their Religion, though some pretend to have discovered that they are

circumcised. But this is no decisive Proof, as that Rite is practised almost all over *Africa*, by *Jews*, *Mohammedans*, and *Pagans*. What gives some Suspicion they are *Jews*, is their abstaining from certain Meats, and their killing and dressing themselves whatever they eat; and yet this is also practised by the *Mohammedans*. The *Malays* drink Brandy and Wine freely.

THEY speak pure *Arabic*, pray to God several Times a Day, have neither *Fetiches* nor *Grigris*, and use no Ablutions before Prayer. They read and write extremely well.

THE Affection which the *Malays* shew to the *French*, preferably to other *European* Nations, might encourage the Company to settle an advantageous Trade with them, and make a Discovery of their Country. For this End it would be necessary, that the *Person* sent should understand the *Arabic*; know how to take the Latitude, and compute the Distances of the Places they pass through; and above all, be sober, intelligent Men, able to bear Fatigue, and encouraged by the Hope of a Reward, proportioned to their Trouble. The Author, who was of Opinion that these People inhabited near the *Red-Sea*, or the East Coast of *Africa*, if he could have quitted his Ship, would have undertaken the Journey.

THESE *Malays* are mentioned by several other late Voyagers to the same Parts; particularly *Atkins*, *Snodgrass*, and *Smith*; which last undertakes to give an Account of their Original.

THE *Malay* People, says this Author, were originally Natives of the Peninsula of *Malakka* in the East Indies; but being of a rambling Temper, many of them settled on *Sumatra*, the Spice-Islands, and in other Parts: But the *Dutch* becoming Possessors, and punishing with Death such Natives as they found trading with any other Nation but themselves, many of the *Malays*, to avoid their Oppression, removed to foreign Coasts, especially about Cape *Guadafuy* in *Africa*, towards the Mouth of the *Red-Sea*. From hence it is that they take such surprising long Journeys across that vast Continent, to *Guinea*; where they exchange Slaves with the *Kabishirs*: By which Means, *Malayans* come, now and then, to be exposed to Sale at *Aktra* and other *European* Ports.

As to the Persons of the *Malays*, the same Author observes, that they differ very much from the *Guinea* Negroes, being right East Indians, of a tawny Complexion, with long, black Hair. They all wear long Trowsers and Jackets, can write and read, and speak the *Malayan* Language.

Whidah
Malays.

* *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 219, & seq.
p. 136, & seq.

* See before. p. 498.

* *Smith's Voyage*.

Slave-
Coast.

ATKINS says, the *Malays* are black *Turks*,^a inhabiting about the Middle of *Africa*, with whom the *Whidah* Blacks communicate by Trade. From them also, he thinks, they took their Circumcision^b. But this is not probable, in case the *Malays*, or *Malays*, be really originally from *Ma-*

lakka, as Smith affirms, though on what Authority he mentions not; for doubtless the Circumcision here, as well as on the *Gold* and other Coasts to the West, is of a much longer Standing than the Migrations of the *Malays* before-mentioned.

C H A P. VII.

NATURAL HISTORY.

SECT. I.

Trees, Roots, and other Vegetables.

Seasons at Whidah. Soil and Trees. Palm-Trees. Pardon-Trees. Polon-Trees, its Cotton. Kola-Fruit. Indigo. Roots and Sallading. Uncommon Poise. Corn. Strong-Beer.

Season.

THE rainy Season begins about the Middle of May, and ends the Beginning of August. This is a malignant Time, which created Sickness even among the Negroes aboard *Phillips's* Ship, who happened unluckily to arrive in *Whidah* Road in that Season. While the Rains last, the Natives themselves will hardly be prevailed upon to stir out of their Huts. As for the English Sailors, they suffered much; for the Showers that fell descended more like Fountains than Drops, and were as hot as if warmed over a Fire. The same Author observes, that the Air, which is confined in a close Place in this Country, appears as intensely hot to an *European*, as if he sucked in the Heat at the Mouth of an Oven in *England*; therefore, to give them some cool Air, they have Negro Boys to fan them all Night, with large Fans made of Skins^c.

Soil and
Trees.

THE Soil of *Whidah* is red and very fruitful, a Proof of which is the same Ground yielding annually three Crops. Yet one meets with but few Trees from the Sea-Coast till you pass the *Eufrates*, and those bear no Fruit.

HOWEVER, as barren as they are, it would be an unpardonable Crime to cut one down, or even lop-off a Branch, since the Natives respect them as Divinities. Strangers, as well as Natives, are subject to this Law. Some *Dutchmen* having one Day ventured to fell a Tree, the Natives rose, took Arms, and massacred them, pillaging the Effects they had left ashore, by way of Damages for the Injury.

b LABAT is of Opinion, that this Consecration of the Trees here, was a politic Contrivance of their Kings to preserve the few that remained from total Destruction^c.

BESIDES all these Fruit-Trees mentioned on the *Gold-Coast*, here are Abundance of Tamarinds, and some Fruit-Trees unknown; but their Fruit is so ordinary as not to be worth describing.

HERE are great Numbers of Palm-Trees the whole Country over, but their Wine is drawn-off and drank by very few. They cultivate them only for the Oil.

NOR are the Pardon-Trees wanting at *Whidah*. But the Negroes preferring Beer to Wine, they are not much esteemed; only their Wood being very durable, they are felled for Building.

BESIDES the before-mentioned, here are no Fruits: But the Author dares engage, that all Sorts of *African*, as well as *European* Fruits, might be produced here, the Land being so fertile and the Inhabitants industrious^d.

MARCHAIS differs much from *Byrman*, in respect to Fruit-Trees. He says, that besides the Palm and Date Trees, which thrive well on account of the sandy Soil, here are *Lataniers*, *Cocoa*, *Citron*, and *Orange-Trees*, which are covered with Fruits and Flowers at all Seasons of the Year, excellent in their Kind. Here are also *Banana-Trees* of several Sorts, and the *Fig-Trees* brought from *Europe* thrive wonderfully.

THE *Palm* (or Cheesemonger-Trees of the *Indian*, *American* Isles) are plenty here, and bear a short Down, but very fine, which, when well carded, makes beautiful Work. An English Director here had a Piece of Cloth made of it, which being dyed scarlet, succeeded so well, that it was not to be matched for Colour, Fineness, Beauty, or Strength. This Down, or Cotton, might be very usefully employed in the Fabrick of Hats and Stuffs, which would be both beautiful, light, and warm.

^a Atkins's Voyage, p. 116.
and 205.

^b Phillips's Voyage, p. 215.
^c Byrman's Description of Guinea, p. 393.

^d Marchais's Voyage, vol. 2. p. 14.

Fig. I.
Vol. III. p. 67

WHIDAH PEASE

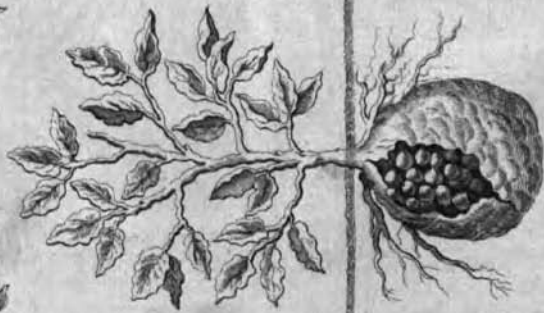


Fig. II.
Vol. II. p. 33^a

THE COTTON TREE



Fig. III.

THE MANTOK ROOT



Slave-
Coast.
Kola Fruit.

HERE is likewise a small, red Fruit, without a Name or Figure, which he thought might grow in *Prunus*, and for that Purpose he had gotten some of the Kernels, or Seeds, which were like those of Peas. This Fruit, being chewed without swallowing, has this Property, that it makes the bitterest, or fourest Things taste sweet after it.

This must needs be the *Kola*, which *Bosman* mentions in his Account of the *Gold-Coast*, but takes no Notice of, as a Fruit of *Widdah*. This Fruit, according to him, grows on lusty Trees, and is rather larger than a Walnut, being furnished with much such a Shell. The Kernel is divided into several Parts, of which some are red, others white. Not only the Negroes, but some of the Europeans are infatuated to this Fruit. It is chewed for the Sake of the Juice, the Remainder being spit-out. It has a very harsh Taste, almost bitter, and draws the Chewer's Mouth very near close. Its sole Virtue is diuretic, but its Admirers pretend it helps to relish the Palm-Wine, though both Reasons could not engage the Author, who calls it a wretched Fruit, to use it. It is commonly eaten with Salt and *Malagatta* Pepper. The Natives call it *Busi*, and the Dutch, *Kol*, or Cabbage, although, *Bosman* thinks, it ought rather to be termed the *African Betel*, or *Auke*, which it exactly agrees with in Virtue and Taste.

Indigo.

BOSMAN thinks, the Soil is as fit for Sugar-Canes and Indigo, especially the last, as any Part of the World. This Dye is already very plentiful, and equals, if not exceeds, that of *Asia* and *America*. All the Cloths of the Inhabitants are dyed with it, but being ignorant of the true Way of using it, they spend four Times as much as needs, and the Indigo would yield more in *Holland*, than the Cloth which it dyes.

Rice and
Selling.

POTATOS are their Bread Kind, eat with all Sorts of Victuals. Here are also Yams, but neither in such Plenty, nor so good as on the *Gold-Coast*, nor are they much valued here.

ONIONS and Ginger grow, though but in small Quantities, especially the former. All other Roots, produced on the *Gold-Coast*, grow here also.

BOSMAN sowed Cabbage, Carrots, Turneps, Spanish-Radish, Radishes, Parsley, and they grew and ripened as well as in *Europe*. In short, he says, the chief Sallad-Gardens in the World are in *Widdah*.

HERE are several Sorts of small Beans in very great Plenty. Of one Species the Dutch make Oil-Cakes, here called *Aracs*, as light as those

in *Holland*, and Persons who are used to them like their Taste well enough.

MARCHAIS takes Notice of a peculiar Sort of Pease here, the Seed of which he brought away. They produce small Trees, like those that bear the Pimento, or red Pepper, and seldom exceed eighteen or twenty Inches high. They resemble these so nearly in Shape, Bark, and Leaves, that there is scarce any knowing the Difference. They bear no Flower. The Peas grow in a Bag, or Membrane, almost as strong as Parchment, placed beneath the Stem, amongst the Roots, which yield Nourishment to the Plant. This Bag contains from an hundred and twenty to an hundred and fifty Peas, tender, easily digested, and well tasted as the *European*, which make excellent Soup. When the Leaves begin to grow yellow, they pluck-up the Plant, with the Roots, and open the Bag to extract the Peas. When they would have them very tender, like our first green Peas, they pull-up the Plant before the Leaves grow yellow, or wither. If they want them ripe, they wait till the Plant grows quite dry.

THEY sow these Peas at the End of the rainy Season, and they are fit to gather in six Weeks. The Author is of Opinion, that they might have several Crops of them, if they would take Care to water them after sowing.

HERE are three Sorts of Corn: First, the *Great Milhio*, which, though not so large as that on the *Gold-Coast*, yet is as good; but the Negroes here do not make Bread of it, using it only for Beer, for which Reason much is not sown.

SMALL MILHIO, or Maiz, which is like that on the *Gold-Coast*, is what chiefly serves to employ this Nation. It is sowed twice a Year, though much more at one Time than the other. In the best Seed Time the Land is so thick sown, that, as is before-hinted, scarce a Foot Path is left unplanted. Hence a prodigious Produce may be conceived, and yet at the End of the Year, they rather fall short of what they want than have any Overplus; partly by their being so very populous, and partly by selling very large Quantities to both the *Peppes* and the neighbouring Countries. For which Reason, one barren Year occasions an incredible Famine here; sometimes Freemen have sold themselves for Victuals; others set their Slaves free, perfectly discharging them of their Slavery, because they could not keep them in Victuals. An *English* Ship here, at that Time, got his whole Cargo of Slaves,

Whole
Peas
Peas

* *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 1. p. 201. C. 377.

perhaps, of *Kola*.

* *Bosman's Description of Guinea*, p. 307.

the Figure.

* *Marchais*, as before.

* In the Original, *Rue*.

* The same, p. 395.

* A Corruption.

* See

without parting with any other Merchandize than a Slave-Cloth.

HERE is also a third Sort of *Milbia*, like the last, which does not grow on Stalks, but like Oats in *Holland*. Its Grain is reddish, and must continue in the Ground seven or eight Months before it is full ripe. This is not eaten, but mixed with the *Great Adilbia*, to brew withal, the Negroes believing it strengthens the Beer.

THE Negro Women are well skilled in brewing Beer, one Sort of which is so strong, that it does not yield to the *Dutch* strong Beer: But then you must pay a Rixdollar for a Pottle of this, which of the common Sort will cost only three Pence. All People here, the Slaves not excepted, drink only Beer; for their Water being drawn-out of Wells twenty or thirty Fathom deep, and but six or eight Foot wide, so that no Man can reach it, it is raw and cold as Ice, and consequently very unwholesome in this hot Country; for drinking it but a few Days only, unavoidably brings-on a Fever; and the good Beer being too hot, an *European* cannot do better than mix them in equal Quantities, which makes a pleasant and wholesome Drink.

THERE is not one Oven in the whole Country, the Natives never using them, boiling even their Bread.

SECT. II.

Of Beasts, Birds, and Fishes.

1. Beasts, wild and tame.

Deer and Hares. Monkeys. Horses. Oxen and Cows. Hogs. Snakes: Harmless Kind.

THERE are not many large wild Beasts about *Whidah*, but farther Inland there are Elephants, Buffalos, Tygers, and several Sorts of Deer, of which last Sort there are some at *Whidah*, but not many, the Country being so populous. Here is also a Sort of Hares in great Plenty, of the same Species with those found at *Apam* and *Akera*, which are not unlike the *European*. But *Marchais* says, neither they nor the Rabbits have so good a Relish.

WHIDAH is the Country of Monkeys. Here are all Kinds of them, and they are equally mischievous. Those near *Jatin* are very pretty, tractable, and ready to learn whatever is taught

them, provided you keep them in Awe with the Whip; for their natural Bias to Unluckiness can be checked no other Way but by frequent Correction.

NOR are Horses wanting here, though they do not much excel those upon the *Gold-Cost*. The Author, designing to have gone by Land to *el Mina*, bought five or six for less than four Pounds Sterling each.

PHILLIPS says, that he never saw Horses any where else in *Africa*; and that the few to be found here are very small, wild, and of no Use but to eat, the Natives being very fond of Horse as well as Dog's Flesh. Yet *Marchais* affirms, here are neither Horses, Camels, Asses, Mules, nor any Beasts of Burden, or for the Saddle, all Bundles being carried by Men.

THE tame Quadrupeds, as Oxen, Cows, Goats, Sheep, and Hogs, do not differ from those of the *Gold-Cost*, but are much better, more fleshy, and of a more agreeable Taste, by reason here they have very fine Meadows, and as good Grass as in *Europe*. Nor are they dear, for an Ox or a Cow may be bought for ten, a good Sheep for two, a Goat for one, and a Hog for two Rixdollars. *Phillips* says, the Cows, which are very small, fold for six or seven Bars of Iron each, Value about twenty Shillings in *England*.

It is not easy, according to *Marchais*, to account for the Smallness of the *Whidah* Oxen and Cows, they never being wrought, (like those of the *Senaga*, which are large) and having excellent Pasture. The Beef is fat, tender, and nourishing.

ACCORDING to *Phillips*, the Hogs are large, and make excellent Pork, it eating sweeter and whiter than the *English*: And indeed it cannot be but good, for the poorer Sort of Negroes have more Regard to their Hogs than to themselves, and feed them better. A well-grown well-fed Hog was bought for seven Bars, which went as far in victualling the Men aboard as two Kine of five and six Bars each.

MARCHAIS, on the contrary, speaks very ill of the Hogs. He says, that as they feed on the Filth and Ordure of their Streets, their Flesh is neither so wholesome nor well-tasted as the Pork of other Countries. Although fat, it is hard to digest, and apt to breed Distempers in *Europeans*, but does not offend the Stomachs of the Negroes, which are so hot, that they can digest any Thing. The same Author affirms, that the Veal and

* *Bosman's Description of Guineæ*, p. 391, & seq.

^b *Phillips* says, p. 223, that he was told there was great Store of Elephants, Lions, Tygers, Leopards, &c. up the Country.

* *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 210, & seq.

^c *Bosman*, as before, p. 389.

^d *Phillips's Voyage*,

p. 215, and 228.

^e *Marchais*, as before, p. 211.

^f *Bosman*, as before.

^g *Phillips*,

as before, p. 231.

^h *Marchais*, as before.

ⁱ *Phillips*, as before.

Slave
Cost.

Kid are good, but their Sheep very indifferent, tasting of Suet^a: Whereas *Phillips* says, that the Goats, as well as Sheep, are but small and poor^b.

Snakes.

Here, for want of a more proper Place, let us mention the Snakes, of which there are two Sorts, one black and poisonous, the other quite harmless, and worshipped by the Natives, of which an Account has been already given from Authors^c. According to *Akins*, the latter, which are yellow, and marked here and there, have a narrow Swallow, but dilatable (as all of the Serpent Kind are) to the Thickness of your Arm on feeding. They are said to kill the black and poisonous Reptiles, and destroy various Species of Vermin injurious to their Fields and Corn^d. *Snelgrave* describes this as a peculiar Kind of Snake, very big in the Middle, rounding on the Back like a Hog, but very small at the Head and Tail; which renders their Motion exceeding slow. He adds, that their Colour is Yellow and White, with brown Streaks, and their Bite quite^e harmless.

Harmless
Kind.

PHILLIPS has seen black Snakes^f here of a prodigious Bigness, one as thick as an ordinary Man's Thigh. He never heard they were ravenous, or did any Harm, any more than the Alligators; nay, the Blacks assured him they would not, and that he need not fear them. They often came into his Room through the Holes in the Walls and Thatch; and sometimes crawled upon the Bed while he was in it, which almost frightened him out of his Senses: But as three or four Negro Boys always lay by his Bed-Side, they would come upon the least Call, and carrying them in their Arms to the next Field, put them down very gently. They would do the like if they saw them lying in the Paths. The Author was told, that the killing one of them had cost the Lives of some white Men^g.

2. Birds of various Kinds.

The Crown-Bird. Uncommon Birds. Parrots.
Wild Fowl. Partridges. Turtle-Doves. Bats.
Poultry. Birds of Prey. Mosquitos.

Common
Bird.

BIRDS of all Kinds are very numerous here. The Crown-Bird found at *Whidah*, and in the whole Country of *Ardrah*, and also a few at and about *Akora*, is not half so beautiful as that of *Guinea*^h. Their Legs and Body

are about the Size of a Stork; and they are called *Crown-Birds* from the great yellowish Tuft, or Crown, intermixed with speckled Feathers, bristling like Hog's Bristles, with which their Heads are adorned. Their Bodies are chiefly covered with black Feathers, and their Wings furnished with large red, yellow, white, and black Quills: Their Heads are beautified with purple Spots, half a Thumb's Breadth on each Side; and the fore Part of their Head being very closely covered with a perfect black, downy Sort of Feathers, looks like black Velvet at a Distance.

Whidah
Bird.

THESE BIRDS seem to be in great Esteem in *Europe*, since we are incessantly solicited (says the Author) by some Gentlemen to send them over; and I have been told, that the King of *England*ⁱ was pleased to accept one as a Present from them. But for my Part, I cannot perceive any such extraordinary Beauty in them; for, besides their Head and Neck, there is nothing very rare, the rest of their Body being rather disagreeable than fine^j. The next Bird, in the same Plate, is also of this Country. The Body is about as big as a Chicken; his Legs and Neck short; his Eyes and Eye-Lids hairy, like those of Men; his Bill short and thick; his Colour black and blue, intermixed; his Legs and Beak are very strong, and very fit for Prey^k.

THE most singular Bird here has been described in the Account of the Western Parts of *Africa*, by the Name of red, blue, black or yellow Birds^l. The *Sieur Brue* brought some of these to *Paris*, but one Circumstance escaped his Observation, perhaps, because not found in those Birds on the *Sanaga*, viz. that they change their Colour every Moulting; so that such as are black this Year, become blue or red the next, and the Year following, yellow or green. They never assume any but these five Colours, and those of the liveliest Dye. They are but of one Colour at a Time, and never speckled, or variegated. The Country is full of them, but they are tender, and difficult to be transported.

HERE are also many Parrots, all grey, with some red Feathers on the Head, the Tips of their Wings and Tails. They are easily tamed, and learnt to talk.

THE wild Fowl here, are red Partridges, Pheasants, Thrushes, Turtles, Pintados, (or Guinea-Hens) wild Ducks, Teal, Woodcocks, Ortolans, and Ring-Doves, all good in their Kind.

^a *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 57, and 211.

^b *Phillips's Voyage*, p. 221.

^c See before, p. 28.

^d *Akins's Voyage*, p. 113, and 117.

^e *Snelgrave's Voyage*, p. 11.

^f These, he says, are

the same which the Natives worship. Others say, the black Snakes are venomous Reptiles. *Phillips* seems to mistake one for the other.

^g *Phillips*, as before, p. 223, & seq.

^h See the Figure, Vol. II. Plate LXXI. N^o 4.

ⁱ *Willoughby's Third*.

^j *Beaman's Description of Guinea*, p. 364, & seq.

^k The same, p. 391.

^l See before, Vol. II. p. 359. B.

Save-
Coast.

Their Partridges have not the Relish of ours in a *Europe*¹.

BOSMAN says, this whole Country seems covered with wild Fowl. Here are Geese, Ducks, Snipes, and twenty other Sorts of edible Birds, all very good and cheap.

If you give a Negro Orders over-Night to go a shooting next Day, you have, without fail, one or two Dishes of wild Fowl, which a Dozen of Pipes will pay for.

Turtle-
Doves.

HERE are such Abundance of Turtle-Doves throughout the whole Country, that *Bosman's* Assistant, who was a good Marksmen, would undertake to shoot an hundred in a Day, betwixt six and nine in the Morning, and three and six in the Afternoon².

Bats.

ACCORDING to *Phillips*, there is a prodigious Number of monstrous Bats, which, in the Day-time, lodge themselves in the great Trees: Among these, once shooting at Random with Bird-Shot, there dropped-down above a Dozen, which were most hideously deformed, and as big as one of our Black-Birds³. *Marchais* observes, that if Bats were eaten here as in the *East Indies*, there would be no Danger of starving; for there are such Flocks of them, that they darken the Sky after Sun-set. At Day-break they fasten to the Tops and large Boughs of the Trees, hanging to one another so, that at a Distance they look like a Swarm of Bees, or a Cluster of Coco-Nuts. It is a Diversion by a Shot to break the string, and see the Confusion they are in at the Light. They are commonly as big as Pullers. They often enter the Houses, when the Negros kill them; but though they have good Stomachs, they will not eat them, having them in a Sort of Abomination⁴.

Poultry.

HERE, as on the *Gold-Coast*, is no great Variety of tame Fowl, there being only Turkeys, Ducks, and Chickens; of the two first Sorts not many, but of the last an incredible Plenty; which, though small, are yet very fat and good. The Price in Goods about six Pence each, which is but three Pence in Money: But the cheapest Way of buying Provision, is with long Pipes; for you may value every Pipe at two Pence, or sometimes four Pence; so that for three Pipes you may have the best Puller⁵.

PHILLIPS says, *Muscovy* Ducks are not so plenty here as on the *Gold-Coast*, and that they could buy three or four of the tame Fowl, which were of the Bigness of Chickens, for a *Gallina* of *Keoria*, or one for a Knife⁶.

LASTLY, here is a sufficient Number of Birds of Prey, though not such great Variety as on the *Gold-Coast*⁷. *Phillips* observes, that the Mosquitos here are very troublesome. When stung by one of them, the Place grows much inflamed, rises in a Knob, and itches exceedingly. The best Remedy the Author could find to allay the Inflammation, was to rub the Parts affected with Lime-Juice or Vinegar, which, though for the present it produced a Smart, gave Ease in a short Time: But to keep them off in the Night, as well as to cool the Air, the *Europeans* have Negro Boys to fan them with large Fans made of Skins⁸.

3. Sea and River-Fish.

Sea-Fish plenty. Monkey-Fish: Its Fins and Skin. River-Fish. Grasshills and Alligators: Much respected at Whidah.

ALTHOUGH the Sea runs violently high here, yet the Road of *Whidah* abounds with Fish, and the Negro Boatmen venture without Fear to catch them with the Line, (for they cannot use Nets) taking great Quantities. But the Sharks, who are numerous on the Coast, rob them of a great Part of their Prey.

MARCHAIS caught two extraordinary Fishes here. The first, named the *Moon-Fish*, has been already described¹; the second is called the *Monkey-Ape*, or *Monkey-Fish*, and not without Reason². It is taken with the Line, or by harpooning, if it come near enough the Ship to be struck. It is a large Fish, some being nigh ten Foot long, and between three and four broad, from the Extremity of the Neck till within a Third of its Length, when it diminishes insensibly, ending in a long, round Tail. It is from this Tail and its Head that it has gotten the Name. The Head is round, with little Eyes, and Hair on the upper Lip like Whiskers, and a short Chin. The Neck is very distinct from the Body, and on the Top of the Head it has a round Excrecence like a Crown. It has four Fins, and two other Excrecences. The largest of these latter is at the Extremity of the Neck, shaped like a *Spatula*, strong, broad, and long; that at the Root of his Tail is a little smaller.

His four Fins resemble the Beard or Whiskers of a Whale. The two foremost may be called Hands, on account of the Power Nature has given them, since he can join them below his

¹ *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 209, & seq.

² *Phillips's Voyage*, p. 223.

³ as before, p. 221.

Vol. II. p. 731.

⁴ *Marchais*, as before, p. 208, & seq.

⁵ *Bosman*, as before, p. 391.

⁶ *Bosman's Description of Guinea*, p. 390.

⁷ *Bosman*, as before.

⁸ *Phillips*, as before, p. 215.

¹ *Phil.*

² *Phillips*.

³ See

Slave-
Coast.

Belly, or above his Neck; or carry any thing a the Banks of the Ponds sunning themselves, and others with their Snouts out of the Water, the largest not above four Yards long. He has sometimes thrown a Lump of Earth (for he does not remember to have seen a Stone in the Country, except *Kanki-Stones*, which are imported) at those on the Banks; and when struck, they would gape very wide, scream-out, run to the Edge of the Pool and plunge-in. A dead Goat being thrown-in among them, they have in an Instant tore it to Pieces, fighting very furiously for it. He would have shot at some of them with Balls, but the Negroes would not give him Leave. The *Musi* Blacks have a great Respect for this hideous Monster, it being their Neighbour the King of *Great Anrab's* *Fetish*, or God, as the Snake is the God of the *Whidah's*.

Whidah
Kingdom.

And Still.

THIS Fish has no Scales, but a Skin spotted with small Pimples like that of the Shark. It is black, and shining like a Jay, while the Fish is alive; but loses its Lustre after it is dead. The Flesh is good, but not over delicate, tasting like lean Beef. The young ones are the best. The Food it lives on is Fish and Sea-Grass. Considering the Colour, and the Coast where it is found, the Name of *Negro-Fish* would become it better than that of *Manky*.

River-Fish.

THE fresh Rivers afford Store of good Fish, some very large, of which the King would often present Captain *Phillips*.

As the two Rivers, which cross the Kingdom of *Whidah*, are full of excellent Fish, the Natives neglect the Fishery at Sea more than their Neighbours, who want that Advantage. Fish is cheap here.

THESE Rivers also afford a great Quantity of Shrimps, Craw-Fish, Lobsters, Scallops, and other Shell-Fish. They also yield large fat Eels, Mulletts, a Kind of white Fish our Pike, and even Soles, Thornbacks, &c. These latter must come from the Sea, and are found near the Mouths of the Rivers, where the Water is brackish, and are reckoned better in their Kind than those gotten in the Sea.

Crocodiles
and alligators.

IN the *Esfrautes* there are found Crocodiles, (which are very destructive to the Fish) Sea-Cows, or Lamentins, and River-Horses. The Negroes cannot endure the latter, on account of the Havock they make in their Fields. They frequently kill them with their Guns, and feast on the Flesh, which is a great Dainty with them. The Teeth they sell.

PHILLIPS observes, that near adjoining to the King's Palace, (at *Sabi*) there are two pretty large Ponds full of Allegators, which the King highly esteems as a Piece of great Magnificence. Of these the Author had seen several on

SUPPLEMENT.

ACCOUNT of the European Forts; and of *Sabi*, or *Xavier*, the Capital of *Whidah*.

Town of Gregoue, or Gregwa. French Fort, when erected. English Fort. Other Factories. Pleasant and populous Country. Sabi, or Xavier Town: Populous, but sinking. The King's Palace. Hall of Audience. Furniture of the Palace. King's Wife's Town. The Armory. Factory of the French, English, and other European Nations.

THE Town or Village of *Gregoue*, (*Gre-Gregwa*, or *Gregwa*) which gives Name to one of the twenty-six little Provinces of the Kingdom of *Whidah*, is about a League and an half from the Road of *Whidah*, on the other Side of the River of *Jakin*, somewhat beyond the Morass. The Country between this Place and the Sea being low and marshy, Persons are carried from the Port on Mens Shoulders in a Hamock, fastened to a Pole; the Bearers being relieved from Time to Time by fresh Porters, who in some Places are up to the Shoulders almost in the swampy Ground.

GREGOUE is pretty large, and the Inhabitants rich, as being all Boatmen or Fishermen, and living near the European Settlements. The Houses are of Earth, or Branches interwoven, with a Plastering or Coat of Clay, a Foot thick. Each Family has several Huts, for the Husband never places two Wives together beneath one Roof. They believe this necessary, to keep Peace

^a *Marchant's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 19, & seq.

^b *Table*.

^c *Before*, p. 207.

^d *Phillips*, as before, p. 203.

^e *Barbot* calls this Village, *Pillau*, or *Pilleau*, p. 324.

^f *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 324.

^g *Phillips's Voyage*, p. 221.

^h Two more are named, *Surnulletes* and *Agger*.

ⁱ *Marchant*, as before, p. 207.

^j This ought to come in, p. 11, in Place of Sect. II.

^k See before, p. 12.

^l *Barbot* calls this Village, *Pillau*, or *Pilleau*, p. 324.

^m *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 324.

ⁿ See amongst

Silver
Chest

amongst them; for the Women here, as elsewhere, are jealous, clamorous, and ill-natured, when they suspect the Man distributes his Kindness unequally.

French Fort

THE French and English have each a Fort at the West End of *Gregui*. The first is the Westernmost, and is composed of four Bastions, with broad, deep Ditches: But has neither covered Way, Glacis, nor Palisado, except an Outwork, like a Half-Moon, which covers the Gate, and shuts with a Drawbridge*. This Fort has thirty Cannons mounted on the Bastions and Curtains, principally on the Side next the English Fort.

The four Sides of Building, which form a square Place of Arms, serve for Magazines, or Warehouses, Apartments for the Officers, Barracks for the Garrison, and a Slave-House*, for so they call the Place they keep the Slaves in till they are embarked. In the Middle of the Square is a Chapel, where Mass is said when they have a Chaplain here. The Fort is commanded by a Lieutenant, placed here by the French Director-General, residing at *Xavier*, or *Sabi*, the Capital of *Whidah*. The Garrison consists of ten white Soldiers, two Sergeants, a Drum, two Gunners, and thirty *Bombardier* Slaves belonging to the Company.

West
Castle

THE French Factory at this Place was established in 1671, by one *Carolef*, with Consent of the King of *Whidah*†; who besides granted him the Permission of trading in this and Part of the *Ardrah* Country, which had then revolted and put itself under his Protection‡.

English
Fort

THE English Fort is governed by a Lieutenant, under the Director General at *Sabi*. It lies about a Musket-shot to the East of the French Fort, and is square. Instead of Bastions, the Angles are covered with round Bulwarks*. It has a broad, deep, dry Ditch, without covered Way or Palisados. It has also a Draw-bridge, and mounts twenty-six Guns†. It is called Fort *Williams*.

As this Factory (which was built by Captain *Wihurne*, Sir *John Wihurne's* Brother) stands low near the Marishes, it is a very unhealthy Place to live in; the white Men the African Company send there, seldom returning to tell their Tale. It is about two hundred Yards in Circumference, and enclosed with a Mud Wall, about six Foot high, having the Gate on the South Side: Within is a large Yard, a Mud thatch'd House, where the Factor lives with the white Men; also a Store-House, a Trunk for Slaves, and a Place where

they bury their dead white Men, called, very improperly, *The Hay-Yard*: There is also a good Forge, and some other little Houses. To the East, are two small Flankers of Mud, with a few Pop-Guns and Hatzenbushes, which serve more to terrify the poor ignorant Negroes, than to do any Execution. While *Phillips* was here, the Factor made a wide, deep Ditch round the Factory, and had his Carpenters to make a Draw-bridge over it, which has rendered it now pretty secure: For before, it was enterable every rainy Time, the Walls being washed down, and when the Rains were over, built-up again‡.

THE Portuguese have no Fort at *Gregui*, but the King has given them a Lot of Ground for one, about four Musket-shot to the South of the English Fort. Their Director resides at *Sabi*, in a large House near that of the French. The Dutch have no Fort in this Country, nor would the Kings of *Whidah* ever permit them to have one, knowing their insinuating Humour. Their Director resides in a House adjoining to the King's Palace at *Sabi*. As to the rest, these Forts at *Gregui* serve only to secure the Merchandizes from the Negroes, who often go a marauding, and when they find an Opportunity to plunder, distinguish neither Friends nor Foes§.

It is ridiculous to say, that the Europeans here owe their Security to their Forts, which could only resist a sudden Attack: But they would prove of little Service should the Natives resolve to take them; for, besides being weak in themselves, they could receive no Supplies, or Assistance, by Sea, on account of the Bar, which is in the Hands of the Negroes; and all Hopes of Supplies by Land would, in this Case, be cut-off. The only Security the Europeans have here, is the Interest of the Negroes; who have Sense enough to know, that they get more by their Residence and Trade, than could accrue by pillaging their Factories and driving them out of the Country; but for this, their Forts had probably been demolished before now. The Case is different on the *Gold-Coast*, as the Fortresses there are considerably stronger, and being seated on the Sea, may be constantly relieved from thence¶.

ABOUT half a Mile from the English Factory there is a *Krum* (or Town) of Negroes, who call themselves *Mine-Men*, and assist the Dutch Ships, that come here, in their Business.

PHILLIPS observes, that from the Factory to the King's Town, it is about four Miles

Whidah
KingdomOrbe Fac
toria

No Security

Country plus
fast and po-
pulous

* See the Plan in the Map, Plate LXXIV.

† *Snelgrave*, p. 115 of his *New Account of some Parts of Guinea*, says, these Houses were all covered with Rushes, according to the Custom of the Country.

‡ See an Account of this Settlement in the *Sieur d'Elbe's Voyage*, inserted hereafter.

§ *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 324.

¶ See the Prospect and Plan, Plate LXXXII.

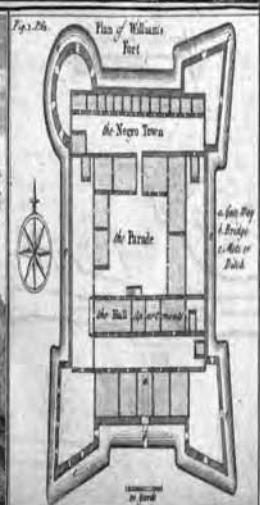
|| *Phillips's Voyage*, p. 215.

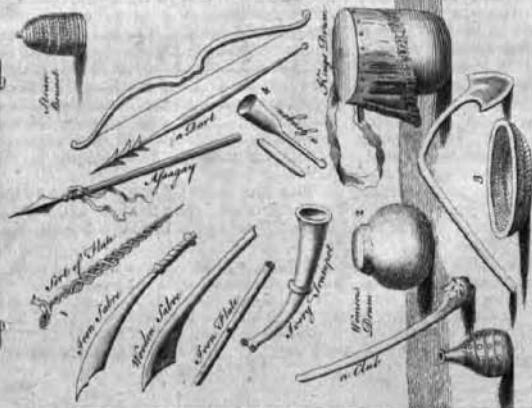
|| *Marchais's Voyage*, p. 35.

¶ *Marchais's Voyage*, p. 35.

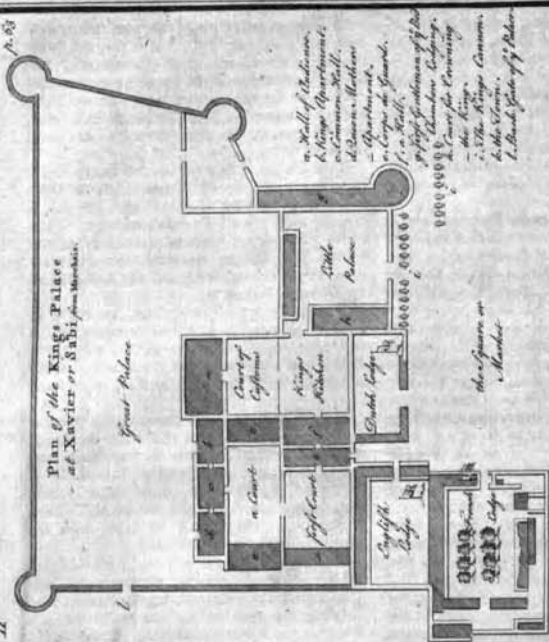
¶ *Marchais's Voyage*, p. 35.

through





1. the several States in the Kings Majesty. &c.
 2. the Northern Isles, which makes a Crown for the Kings Majesty.
 3. the several Islands filled with English or other People, a Royal
 Government.



Navy-
Coast.

through very pleasant Fields, full of *India* and *Guinea* Corn, Potatoes, and Yams, in great Plenty, of which they have two Harvests yearly.

THE Country has but few Trees, which seemed to *Smith* as if regularly planted in small Groves up and down, or left standing by the Natives, when they reduced the Woods. It is so well inhabited, that a Traveller can never fail of being in Sight of ten or twelve *Krains* at once, any where within twenty Miles of the Sea-Coast.

Thro' the
River.

IN carrying Goods from the Port to *Gregoué*, or *Sabi*, the Negroes pillage no less than in bringing them ashore. Their Porters have a Sort of Cap made of Reeds, which is capable of holding a Glass-Bottle, or a Kalabash, that will hold a Pint of Brandy, or a little Bag in which they can put the *Bajis* they steal, these being the two Wares they are most inclined to pilfer. Except this Bonnet, or Cap, they have no Place to hide their Theft, being all naked, saving the Rag that covers their Middle. When Goods enough to traffic with have been carried ashore, the Captain sends for these Porters, to make a Convey to the Factory, the Chief of whom promises that the Men shall be faithful: But generally five or six Whites, well armed, are sent to guard them, and watch that they do no Mischief.

Sabi Town.

XAPIER, *Xabier*, or *Sabii*, as it is differently called by the *Europeans* and Negroes, is the Capital of the Kingdom of *Whidah*. It lies two Leagues to the North-East of *Gregoué*, and consequently three Leagues and an half from the Sea, in a large Plain to the South-East of the *Eufrates*. Those, says our Author, who call this Cluster of Houses a City, do it too great an Honour. However, he allows it that Title, as being the Residence of the King, and the Directors of the *European* Nations who trade here. Each Family has a Spot of Ground, inclosed with a Wall, proportioned to the Number of Houses contained in it. All these Inclosures are separated from each other, so that the intermediate Spaces may be considered as Streets, or Alleys, according to their Breadth or Distance, though properly it has none. They are often so narrow, that scarce two can walk abreast; and where they are wider, they are so full of Holes, that it is dangerous to go along them, especially at Night. As the Negroes build with Earth, which they dig-up as near as possible to

Popular, but
false.

their Habitations, their Houses are surrounded with such Holes, or Pits. These they fill with Nastiness, which, with their Excrements, (for they ease themselves in the Streets) creates an insupportable Stench; so that if you go out in a Morning before the Hogs are turned loose, and have gleaned up the Dirt, there is no enduring the Stink.

Whidah
Kingdom.

THE Houses at *Sabi* are but one Story, raised of Clay and covered with Straw. That of Captain *Affew*, Protector of the *French* Nation, is the only one, (the King's Palace excepted) which has two Stories, and Cannon mounted before the Gate. This Honour has been obtained by his good Services to the State, and the Influence of the *French* Directors.

IN this Village of *Sabi* alone, according to *Barbot*, there were reckoned as many Inhabitants as in a whole Kingdom on the *Gold-Coast*: But it was destroyed, and the whole Country conquered by the Army of the King of *Dahomé*, in 1726.

THE *Europeans* settled here give the Name of *Seraglio* to the Buildings that form the King's Residence. This Inclosure is very large, and composed of a Wall of Earth; from eight to ten Foot high, the Copping of which is covered with Straw. At the Angles are round Towers, of the same Height and Materials with the Walls, which serve for Centries.

It is divided into the great and little *Seraglio*, the last of which serves for an Entry to the first. This consists of a large Court, surrounded with Buildings on three Sides. On the fourth is a Wall, in the Middle of which is a large Gate, where are always two Centinels on Guard. Before this Gate are twelve Pieces of Cannon on Sea-Carriages; and opposite the Tower, or Centry-Box, at the Corner, are nine more in Battery, like the former. The Apartment of the King's first Valet de Chambre takes up all the left Side of this Court. From this Court, you enter into the Court of the King's Kitchens; and from thence into a third, called the Court of the Customs, because here the King's Duties are paid, as well the Taxes he receives from his Subjects, as those the *Europeans* pay for the Liberty of Trade.

THE End of this Court is taken-up by a spacious Apartment, which serves for a Hall of Audience. The King's Throne is a large Arm-
Chair.

* *Phillips's Voyage*, p. 216.

* *Smith's Draughts of Guinea*, Plate 28.

* See before, p. 11, a.

* *Moreau's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 297.

* *Barbot*, p. 325, calls it *Sabi*; *Ashies*, and others, *Sabi*. The

first says, it stands at the Entrance of a Wood.

In the Original, South-East.

* *Ashies* makes

it only six Miles from the Sea; others, as *Barbot*, *Phillips*, &c. reckon it four from *Gregoué*.

* See a

farther Description, Vol. II. p. 479, and 480.

* *Barbot*, as before, p. 36, & seq.

* The

same, p. 186.

* *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 327.

* See Vol. II. p. 479, and 480.

* See the Plan, Plate LXXIX.

Shew-
case.

Chair, placed on an Alcove, covered with a *Turkey Carpet*. All the rest of the Floor is covered with Mats and Arm-Chairs set for the *Europeans*, who are admitted to Audience. The Custom here is to admit no *Europeans* into the inner Part of the Palace, but the Author found Means to be excepted from this Rule, and to draw the Plan of it. All these Buildings are only one Floor raised from the Ground, and made of red Clay, which forms strong Walls. The Roofs are of Straw, or Palm-Leaves, so closely interwoven, as to secure them from Wind and Rain, as well as the Heat, which is excessive here.

Furniture of
the Palace.

THE King's Palace is well disposed, and furnished much like those in *Europe*, the Apartments having magnificent Beds, Arm-Chairs, Canopies, and Mirrors; in a Word, all that go to embellish a House according to the Mode of this Country. The Negro Grandees and rich Merchants strive to imitate him, and have also Cooks taught by *Europeans*; so that when Strangers dine with them, they find no Difference between their Tables and those of the People of Distinction in *Europe*. Perhaps they may be reconciled to the foreign Dress in Time. They are already brought to provide *Spanish, Canary, Madava, and French Wines*. They love Brandy and fine Drama, and know how to chuse the best. They use Sweetmeats, Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate, and their Entertainments have no Sign of the ancient Barbarity that prevailed here. Their Table-Linen is fine, and they have Sideboards of Plate and China; so that they are not only civilized, but polite: But the common People are not much improved.

ATKINS says, the Palace is a dirty, large Bamboo Building, a Mile or two round, where in the King keeps near a thousand Women.

King's
Wives
Towns.

HOWEVER, according to *Phillips*, the Women reside not in the Palace, but in a Town (as he calls it) near the same, consisting of about forty Houses walled round. He adds, that none are permitted to see them, but an old *Kabobir*, who has the Charge of them, and the King himself. The Author was assured by Captain *Tem* the Interpreter here, that the Number of his Wives are near three Thousand: This, he says,

was very probable, considering that each *Kabobir* had from ten to twenty, more or less, according to his Pleasure.

Which
Kingdom.

CLOSE by the King's Palace is an old rotten House he called his Armory, wherein are six old Iron minion Guns, about five hundred Weight each, most dismounted, and much out of Kelter. These he values himself much upon, though they are fit for no Service, but to create an Esteem and Dread in his poor ignorant Subjects, by firing them sometimes as they lie on the Ground, which was done to welcome the Author upon his first Arrival.

THE Factories of the *European Nations*, where the respective Directors reside, are on the Left of the King's Palace, and are here called *Hotels*, or *Palaces*. The *French* Factory is the largest and best built. It consists of a great Court, surrounded by uniform Buildings, in the Middle of which is a Kitchen Garden, with some large Orange-Trees growing naturally. Over the Entry is a Building, and on each Side a Guard-House, on which is set-up the *French* Flag. In the inner Yard, behind the principal Lodging, is another small Garden, a Forge, Kitchen, and other Offices fitting for a Factory. The Director here keeps constantly an elegant Table for the Captains of Ships and Officers; to which he often invites the Grandees of the Country, and the King's Officers, whose Interests may be of Service to the Company.

THE *English* Factory joins the *French*, from which it is divided by a slender Wall. It lies near the Palace, to which it also joins. The *Portuguese* Factory lies on one Side of the *French*, divided by a small Street, and opposite to it, joining the Entry of the King's Palace, is that of the *Dutch* Factory. All these Buildings lie round the great Market-Place, and the Houses of the Town lie scattered round these Buildings.

BOSMAN says, that the *Dutch* Lodge, which the King caused to be built for him, was very large, containing three Warehouses, and seven Chambers, besides a beautiful Court within, adorned on each Side with a Piazza; but that the Lodgings of the rest of the *Europeans* were very mean and inconvenient.

^a *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 36, & seq. p. 110.

^b In the Original, *Cappasier*.

^c This was a sculible Gold-Coast Negro, who having served one of the Factors a long Time as his Boy, had learned *English*, and was then one of the greatest Men in the King of *Woolah's* Court.

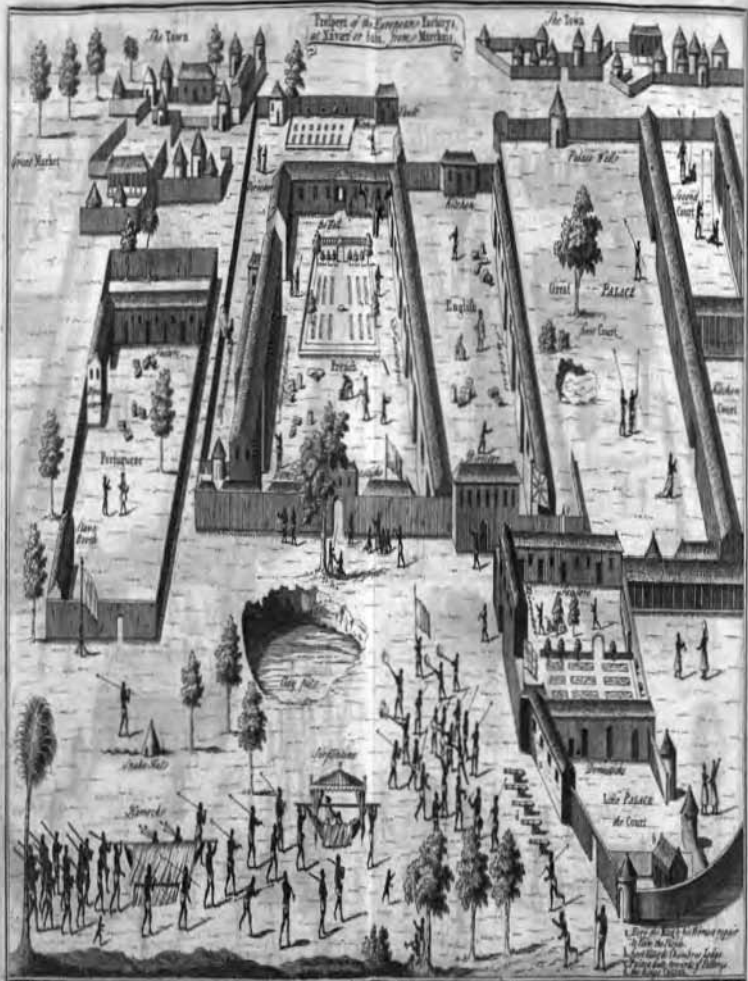
^d *Phillips's Voyage*, p. 219.

^e The same, p. 220.

^f In 1727 or 28, a Fire happened in the Fort, which burnt all the Houses, and dismounted the great Guns. *Smith's Voyage*, p. 199.

^g *Marchais*, as before, p. 39, & seq.

^h *Bushman's Description of Guinea*, p. 365.



CHAP. VIII

A VOYAGE to Ardrah, and TRAVELS to the Capital Affem, in 1669 and 1670.

By the *Sieur d'Elbée*, sent by the French West India Company.

To which is added, An Embassy from the King of Ardrah to Louis the Fourteenth.

Now first translated from the French.

Preamble.

THE following Voyage and Embassy are inserted in the second Volume of the *Chevalier des Marchais's Voyage to Guinea*; and contain sixty-two Pages. They are both curious Pieces in their Kind. The first affords the best Account extant of *Affem*, and the State of the King of *Ardrah*. The second, besides the Singularity of a Negro Embassy, gives a lively View of the Manners and Genius of the Blacks of Rank and Figure, intermixed with a Variety of entertaining Incidents peculiar to an Event of that Nature.

French Company. These Vessels departing, November the first, 1669, sailed along the Coast of *Africa*, and having touched at Cape *Blanca*, and several other Places, came to an Anchor in the Road of *Ardrah*, January the fourth, 1670.

NEXT Day the *Sieur Carlos* landed, and went to *Offra*. He was informed at *Praya*, by the *Fidalgo*, (or Governor) that the *Dutch* being apprised of the Company's Design, used secretly all Methods to traverse and ruin the Enterprize. This *Fidalgo* did not fail, according to his Sovereign's Orders, to dispatch a Courier to *Ardrah*, to notify to the Court the Arrival of the *French Ships*; and the *Sieur Carlos* sent-off another with Letters for his old Acquaintances. On his Arrival at *Offra*, he was most kindly received by the Vice-Roy, and returned on-board to give the *Sieur d'Elbée* an Account of what he had learnt by this Journey. The Second of the *Dutch* Factory came on-board the *Justice* to compliment the Commodore, and made him a Present of fresh Provisions. Both his Compliment and Present were received; and though the Commodore was convinced of his secret ill Will, yet he was regaled, and sent-back with Presents, as if he had been a real Friend.

THE *Sieur du Bourg* landed, and went to *Offra*, where the *English* Factor provided him a Lodging and Provisions; for the Natives were not allowed to furnish any, till, by the King's Order, the Trade was opened. The Vice-Roy, however, received him with great Civility. Three Days passed without any Answer from Court. This surprised the *Sieur Carlos* the more, as he had written a Letter to the King, reminding his Majesty of their ancient Friendship, and that, in their Youth, they had drank Mouth to Mouth, that is, out of the same Glass; which, amongst these People, is a Sort of Pledge or Token of perpetual Friendship, that cannot be violated without immediate Punishment from Heaven.

SECT. I.

The *Sieur d'Elbée's* Voyage to Ardrah.

Design of the Voyage. Arrival at Praya. Proceed to Offra. Message from Court. The Prince visits the French. Goes to the Sea-Side. Order of his March. Interview with d'Elbée. His Person and Behaviour. Several Wives. The Prince's Dress. Journey to Affem. Great Fete. Du Bourg's Audience of the King. His Majesty's Answer. Liberty to trade. Second Journey to Court. The French lodged in the Palace.

Design of the Voyage.

THE *West India Company*, established in 1664, finding the Want it had of Negro Slaves, equipped two Vessels at *Flower-de-Grace*, viz. the *Justice* and the *Concorde*, each of two hundred and fifty Tons, and carrying thirty-two Guns. The *Sieur d'Elbée*, Commissioner of the Marine, was named Commodore of these Ships, and went on-board the *Justice*; having with him the *Sieur du Bourg*, who was appointed Commander of the intended Fort and Factory on the Coast of *Ardrah*. Amongst the under Factors, who went on this Expedition, was one *Carlos*, who knew the Country by having resided there in the *Dutch* Service, and was now entered into that of the

* P. 230.

* *Marchais's Voy. en Guinée*, vol. 2. p. 231.

* Or, the Landing-Place, the same

as is called, by *Barker* and others, *Little Ardrah*, or, *The Port of Little Ardrah*; also, *Jekin Road*.

Slave-
Coast.

IN the mean Time were landed the Company's Presents for the King. Amongst these was a fine gilt Coach, with a magnificent Set of Harness; which Sort of Carriage had been introduced here by the Portuguese.

At Teyssam
Coast.

It is the Custom of the Court of *Ardrab* to make Strangers wait a long Time for an Answer. The King, in Consideration of his former Friendship for the *Sieur Carlef*, was pleased to shorten the Time. The Deputy-Captain of his Majesty arrived at *Offra*, January the sixteenth, ten Days after the Date of the Letters. He waited on the *Sieur Carlef* (who was at the *Sieur du Bourg's* Lodging) in the King's Name, and told him, that Prince was over-joyed to find any of his old Friends alive, who were worthy to see him: That he should have that Honour immediately; and that the King, to show his Remembrance of their former Friendship, would not receive his Presents before-hand, as he did those of other Nations: He added, that the King was well disposed to favour the *French*, and grant them the same Privileges enjoyed by other Nations, and even greater; and that his Majesty had commanded the Prince his Son, and the great Captain, to repair as soon as possible to *Offra*, to meet him, and conduct him to Court.

The Prince
wishes them.

THIS News, which the *French* took Care to publish, greatly mortified the *Dutch*. Two Days after, the hereditary Prince, and the great Captain of Trade, arrived together at *Offra*. The *Sieur du Bourg*, attended by the *Sieur Carlef*, went immediately to visit the Prince. The Meeting passed in mutual Compliments, and, as it was late, no Mention was made of Business. Next Day the Prince, attended by the great Captain, returned the Visit; and after the first Civilities, told him, that he was sent by the King his Father to conduct him to *Affem*, on *Great Ardrab*, but that first he would entertain and drink with him at the Sea-Side; from whence, returning to *Offra*, he would proceed to Court.

AFTER this Visit, the *French* had the Liberty of buying from the Natives what they wanted, not only ashore, but for the Vessels in the Road, although they wanted little, having been supplied plentifully by the Coast-Negros in the Night.

Girt in the
Sea-Side.

JANUARY the twentieth, the Prince was carried to the Sea-Side, where a large Tent had been erected for him. He was attended by the great Captain of Trade, the *Sieurs du Bourg* and *Carlef*, the *English* Factors, and the under Clerks of the *Dutch* Factory. He arrived at the Shore about nine in the Morning. As soon as he appeared, the *Sieur d'Elble*, who was on-board, saluted him with four Discharges, of twelve Guns each, at small Intervals; after which, he went a

shore. As soon as the Boat came near Land, the Prince sent some of his Retinue, who took him on their Shoulders, and brought him ashore; others lifted-up the Boat with all the Crew, and set it down twenty Fathom from the Sea with as much Dexterity as Strength. These Negros were all large, robust Men, but quite naked, except a Cotton-Cloth round their Waist.

AFTER the *Sieur d'Elble* had advanced some Paces, an Officer desired him, in Portuguese, to stop where he was. He did so, and all the People, who had crowded to see him, retired out of Respect, so that he remained alone with his Attendants and the Negro Officer.

SOON after they perceived approach a Company of Negros, who carried Sticks crooked, in the Shape of an S, at the End of which were fixed little Banners, which they sported with, playing a thousand Tricks of Dexterity. After these came the Drummers, their Drums being painted and taper at each End. They beat well, and made an agreeable Cadence. These were followed by others, who bore Instruments of polished Iron, like small Bells; on which they made with Rods a jingling, in Concert with the Drums. Next came a large Troop of Comedians, or Players, some dancing, others singing, and shewing several antic Postures, some telling diverting Stories; and amongst them some had Brass and Ivory Trumpets of different Sizes, whose Sounds kept Time with the other Music. All these compose the Prince's Band of Music, and always attend him, when he appears in State. They passed in good Order by the *Sieur d'Elble*, entertaining him with their best Flourishes. The Officers of the Prince's Household appeared next, at some Distance at the Head of his Guards, who marched with their Muskets on their Shoulders, and had by their Sides Sabres with gild Handles. These were followed by the great Equerry, or Master of the Horse, who walked single, richly dressed, his Hat on his Head; and bearing on his Shoulder the Prince's Sabre, as the Sword of State is carried before the Doge of *Genoa*. The Prince came next, having borne over his Head a large Umbrella. He walked slowly, leaning on two of his Officers. The great Captain (or General) of Horse marched at his right Side, and the great Captain of Trade on his left. He was followed by several of the Nobles, or Grandees, and the Procession closed with above ten thousand Negros.

WHEN the Prince approached within ten Paces of the *Sieur d'Elble*, he stopped, and then the Officer, who attended the latter, told him, it was Time to advance. He did so, saluting, with a low Bow in the *French* Fashion, the Prince, who

Sieve-
Coast.

presented him his Hand; and *d'Elbée* gave his to the Prince, who squeezed it gently, looking at him steadfastly without speaking. *D'Elbée* was silent a Moment to express his Respect, and then made him his Compliment in *Portuguese*; which the Prince, out of State, had interpreted, though he both understood and spoke the *Portuguese* well. He made use of the same Interpreter to tell the *Sieur d'Elbée* for Answer, that he was glad to see him: That he would employ all his Credit with the King his Father in his Favour; and that he thanked him for his obliging Offers. After this, he took him by the Hand, and made him walk by his Side beneath his Umbrella. He would fee the Boat which brought him ashore. He examined it with Attention, and taking the Flag which it had, caused it to be set-up before his Tent, where was drawn-up a Company of an hundred Musketeers, whose Pieces were in good Order. They had all Sabres and Pouches. These Marks of Distinction nettled the *Dutch*, as they had never been treated with such Honours.

En Perse,

THE Conversation between the Prince and *Sieur d'Elbée*, though carried-on by the Interpreter, was very polite; and the Prince discovered in it a great deal of Vivacity, though at the same Time he preserved much Gravity. He was of a large Stature, and very lusty, without being fat, or unweildy. He was handsome, had good Eyes, fine Teeth, and a pleasant Smile. There was in his Person an Air of Grandeur and Dignity, tempered with a Sweetness, that at once gained him Love and Respect. Dinner-time being come, they placed in the Middle of the Tent five clean Mats, round which they placed square Cushions of Damask, on which the Prince seated himself; placing at his Right-Hand the *Sieur d'Elbée*, and on his Left the *Sieurs du Bourg* and *Carlos*, with the *English* Factors. The Entertainment consisted of several Sorts of Meats, roasted and boiled; as Beef, wild Boar, Goats, Pullets, and other Fowls, with Ragouts made with Palm-Oil, not very agreeable but to those used to them. They had no Dishes or Plates but *Kouir*, that is, half Kalabashes, painted with so bright a Vernish, that they looked like the finest Tortoise-Shell.

And Bha-
nagar.

DURING their Repast, two Officers constantly fanned the Prince with Fans of scented Leather. All the Officers, who served the Prince, did it kneeling, and with great Reverence. On one Side of the Prince, a little behind, were three Persons, whom he called to him, and in whose Mouths he put Pieces of Bread and Meat*. The *Sieur d'Elbée* was informed these were his Favourites. These People have a nice Task, not being allowed to touch these Morfels with their

Hands, or to let them drop from their Mouths, under Pain of losing the Prince's Favour. No Drink was served-up, or called for, while Dinner lasted, which was a pretty long Time: The Prince doing the Honour of his own Table with great Politeness, and keeping-up the Conversations with Spirit. *D'Elbée* found him much better acquainted with the Situation and Affairs of *Europe* than one would well imagine. He asked several Questions of that Gentleman, which discovered his Penetration, and the Delicacy of his Genius.

1670.
d'Elbée.

THE last Course being ended, Water was served-up in Crystal Glasses to wash; after which, the Guests were presented with clean Napkins of fine Cotton-Cloth, neatly folded. The Attendants then brought Palm-Wine, Sack, Port, and French Wines, of which the Guests drank moderately: For though the Prince invited them often to take their Glass, yet he was not for urging any to take more than he inclined; contrary in this to the impolite Custom of many in *Europe*. He frequently made the *Sieur d'Elbée* drink out of the same Glass with him at the same Time, which is the highest Mark of Respect and Friendship amongst these People. The Difficulty is, to conceive how two People can drink together at once out of the same Glass, unless their Glasses are different from the *French*, or like some in *Italy*, which are eight or ten Inches broad, and not above an Inch deep. While the Prince dined beneath his Tent, his Attendants were treated in several Arbours raised for that Purpose; and after them the *French* Soldiers and Sailors that came ashore with *d'Elbée*. These being served, Victuals were distributed to the Populace assembled to see the Ceremony.

THE *Sieur d'Elbée*, on his coming-out, caused several Handfuls of *Béjis* to be distributed to the People, from whom he received loud Acclamations. After this, Trade was opened, and the *French* had full Liberty to deal with the King's Subjects.

THE Prince appeared to be about thirty, or thirty-five. He had on but two Pagnes, both of which trained on the Ground; one was of Satin, the other of Taffety, with a broad Taffety-Scarf tied like a Belt. The rest of his Body was naked. He had on a Hat with red and white Feathers, and red Pumps on his Feet.

AT the *Sieur d'Elbée's* taking-Leave in the Evening, the Prince shewed him new Civilities, promising him his Protection to the *French* Nation on all Occasions, and would even fee him to his Boat; which a Number of stout Negroes took on their Shoulders and carried into the Sea, be-

* The Savages of *Canada* and *Louisiana*, in *North America*, use the same Ceremony to those they would honour.

Savoie.
Cliff.

Journey to
Assien.

yond the large Waves. The Commodore saluted the Prince with several Huzzas, and his Ship with four Salvoes of twelve Guns each*.

MEAN Time the Prince placed himself in his Hamock, which was carried by two lusty Negroes. The Sieur du Bourg and Corbif also got into theirs; and like him had Umbrellas carried over their Heads. The Prince set out thus attended by his Guards, his Music, and a great Crowd of People. It was late before they reached Offra. The next Day, *January* the twenty-fifth, the Prince, attended by the two grand Captains, paid a Visit to du Bourg, and invited him to accompany him to Assien, causing Hamocks to be given to him and Corbif. They set out the twenty-fourth, and as they travelled in the Prince's Company, had the Advantage of seeing the Country by Day, which is a Privilege denied to all Strangers. The Prince gave them a grand Entertainment at Great Fore, a large Village, which lies half Way between Offra and Assien; and as they set out late, it was Night when they arrived at the Capital. They were conducted to an Apartment in the King's Palace, designed for the French, where the King sent them their Supper.

Great Fore.

MEAN Time d'Elbie landed the Merchandise, which were carried from the Shore to Offra by Negroes. These had twenty Bajis for the Journey: A small Rate for Portage, but proportioned to their Burdens, which never exceed two Bars of Iron, or a Weight equivalent, which they call Tanji. The Bar of Iron here is but nine Feet long, two Inches broad, and one Fourth thick. From Offra to Assien they transported the same Way the King's Presents, and the Goods designed to trade with the Grandees.

Du Bourg's
Audience.

JANUARY the twenty-seventh, the Sieur du Bourg had his first Audience of the King, in which he appeared under the Character of Embassador, (from Louis the Fourteenth) and in that Quality was introduced by the Prince, the grand Priest, and the two great Captains of Trade and Horse. The King made him sit down on a Bed of Cotton, placed near his Arm-Chair. Du Bourg made his Compliment in Portuguese, which, though the King understood, and spoke in Perfection, yet he had his Address explained by his two Interpreters, Mattie and Francisco, who kneeled at his Feet. The Office of Interpreter here is very considerable, but the least Mistake or Falsification is as much as their Lives are worth.

THE King having given an obliging Answer to the Sieur du Bourg's Compliment, the latter

presented his Majesty the Coach and other Presents sent him by the Company; after which he intreated his Permission to build a Lodge or Factory at Offra; engaging, that four Ships should be regularly sent every Year to trade in his Dominions.

1670.

THE King replied, that with respect to Trade, the Dutch sent more Ships annually than he could load; that the last Year some had been forced to go away without their Cargoes; that there were then actually six on the Coast, and four at Adina, who only waited Advice from their Factory to come there, so that he wanted neither Ships nor Merchandize; that the Dutch had made him very considerable Offers to contract an Alliance with him, in order to have an exclusive Right to trade in his Dominions; and that he had the greater Reason to comply therewith, as the English seemed to neglect his Commerce, and the French, who had formerly traded with him, kept their Words no better, which was a Fault he could not excuse the Dutch with.

His Majesty added, that notwithstanding all this, the great Things he had heard of the King of France, and of the Care one of his Ministers shewed to extend Commerce, had raised in him a Fondness to merit the Esteem of so great a Prince, by treating his Subjects well; for which End he had given Order to his great Captain for Trade, to build the French a Factory at Offra; to protect their Commerce, and give them all the Encouragement in his Power. After this, the Boxes of rich Goods were brought, of which the King had his Choice, and the Sieur du Bourg left the Prices to his Majesty. This Commodity produced a good Effect, and gave him as high Esteem for the French. Du Bourg falling sick here, left the Direction of the Trade in the Hands of Corbif, who immediately raised the Price of Slaves to eighteen Bars a-Head, which before never exceeded twelve. This was a Piece of Policy designed to ruin the Dutch Trade, who chose rather to keep their Goods on their Hands, than not get as much by them as they had done before.

THE Sieur Corbif sent Presents to the Queen-Mother, and the Queen; after which he traded for about three hundred Slaves, which he bought from the Prince, the grand Priest, and the great Captains. These Slaves he sent on board his Ships. The Deputy-Captain of Trade also conducted seventy-five, which the King paid for the Goods he had taken.

FEBRUARY the eighth, Proclamation was made through the Country of the Liberty of

* Martini's Voyage, vol. 2. p. 236, & seq.
improperly.

* M. Calbert, or Pouchbarren.

* Called, in the Original, Morales, for Markle, but

Slave-
Craft.

Trade for Slaves granted by the King to the Company. As this Trade was settled at *Offra*, the King's Receivers fixed the Duties there, the same as at *Assem*. Slaves bought from the King paid no Duty. By *March* the first, the *Justice* having her Cargo completed, was ready to sail, but waited for her Comfort.

carried-on. Goods for Importation. End of 1670.
the Voyage. & *Elbe*.

Social Jour-
ney to Court.

In order to forward Matters, the *Sieur d'Elbe* took a second Journey to Court, attended by the *Sieurs Coriof* and *Marringe*, with his Domestics. The Vice-Roy of *Offra* furnished them with Ham-
mocks and Porters; but as the Prince was not in their Company, they were obliged to travel only by Night, for the Reason already mentioned: Yet as the Weather was clear, and the Moon shone bright, they could observe, that the Country was flat and level, well cultivated, and full of Towns and Villages. The Captain of Strangers, who conducted them, and was carried in a Hamock at the Head of the Company, took Care to take them through no Towns, but always turned-off the Road purposely leaving them at some Distance.

Lodged in
the Palace.

THEY arrived before Day at *Assem*. During the Time of the *Sieur d'Elbe's* Stay, he visited the Town and adjacent Parts, attended by two of the King's Officers. On his Arrival, he was carried to the French Apartment in the Palace, where the King immediately sent him all Sorts of Refreshments; as Mear boiled and roast, Bread of different Kinds, as well as Liquors. The Prince, the grand Priest, and other Grandees did the same, so that he had Provisions enough for two hundred People. As soon as it was Day, he was visited by all the Grandees. The Prince sent to excuse himself from seeing him, on account of the Death of one of his Children. He was confined and saw no-body, which with them is a Mark of extreme Grief.

SECT. II.

THE VOYAGE continued.

Audience of the King. His Person and Dress. Raising a Fort refused for good Reasons. Goods bestowed by him. Reverence paid him. The Palace and Gardens. D'Elbe's Visit to the Prince, and chief Priest, who shows his Wives. Presents to Fort-Knowledge. His Person and Dress. Extent of Adrah. Dress of the Men, and Women. The King's State. Bloody-minded Priest. The King's Wives. Their Religion, and Fetiches. Women, how instructed. Parting Exercise. Commerce of Adrah, how

THE King visits no-body, but as a particular Mark of Favour, he gave the *Sieur d'Elbe* an Audience the same Day, as soon as he had dined. He was conducted by the two great Captains of Trade and Horse, who marched at his Side. The King was in one of his Gardens, seated in a Damask Arm-Chair, beneath a Gallery.

THIS Prince, called *Tanzif*, appeared to be about seventy, tall and lusty in Proportion; his Eyes large and lively; his Countenance shewed his Penetration, Judgment, and Wisdom. The Vivacity of his Genius appeared in his Answers during the long Audience. He was dressed in two Pagnes, like under Petticoats, in the *Persian* Mode, one over the other. The undermost was of Taffety, the other of pricked Satin; a broad Taffety-Scarf served him for a Belt or Girdle. The rest of his Body was naked. He wore on his Head a Sort of Night-Cap of fine Linen, edged with Lace; and over it a Crown of Wood, black and shining like Ebony, of a fragrant Smell. In his Hand he held a small Whip, the Handle of which, of black Wood, was loaded with Ornaments, and the Cord or Whip of Silk, or *Pie's*.

THE *Sieur d'Elbe* approaching with three profound Reverences, the King presented him his Hand; and taking-hold of the Commodore's, cracked his Thumb three Times as he shook it, which is an extraordinary Mark of Friendship. He then caused Mats and Cushions to be brought, for *d'Elbe* and his two Officers to sit on, the Domestics waiting on the Outside of the Gallery.

THE *Sieur d'Elbe*, after the usual Compliments, intreated the King, that he would allow the *French* to build a Factory in their own Way, the one built being too little, and otherwise incommo-
dious; and that he would give his Orders for the Safety of the Director and Factors at *Offra*. The King replied, he took those Officers under his Protection, and would take particular Care they should be safe, and have no Cause of Complaint; that he would issue his immediate Orders, that the Debts, due by his Subjects to the Company, should be discharged in twenty-four Hours: That with regard to the Factory at *Offra*, he would give Directions to the Prince and the two great Captains to go in Person there and augment the Buildings; but that he could not allow them to build a Factory in their Manner. "You will
" (says the King) make a House, in which you

* For its Description, see the Geography hereafter.

* The same, p. 248, & seq.

* *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 248, & seq.

lives.
Concl.

" will put at first two little Pieces of Cannon; a
" the next Year you will mount four, and in a
" little Time your Factory will be metamor-
" phosed into a Fort, that will make you Master
" of my Dominions, and enable you to give
" Laws to me." He accompanied these Argu-
ments with so many apt and witty Similes, and
with such an Air of good Humour and Pleasan-
try, that *Sieur d'Elbe* could not be displeased at
so obliging and politic a Refusal.

The King added, that he wondered the King-
dom of *France* being so large and full of able
Workmen, the Company should load their Vessels
with common Merchandizes, like those brought
by the *English* and *Dutch*. *D'Elbe* answered,
that this first Voyage being only to try the Trade,
the Company had judged it proper to send only the
same Sorts of Goods with the *English* and *Dutch*,
lest that for the future they would supply his
Majesty with whatever was rare and curious; de-
siring he would be so good to name such Things
as would be agreeable to him. The King named
a *French* Silver-luted Sword and Cut-throat, large
Mirrors, the finest Linen, and Lace Shoes and
Slippers of Velvet and Scarlet Cloth, scented
Gloves, Silk Stockings, and some other Things;
which the Commodore promised to bring or send
him by the first Vessel should sail after his Re-
turn to *France*. After this Conversation, the
Sieur d'Elbe made his Majesty a Present of a
Fowling-Piece, and a Pair of Pistols mounted
with Silver. The King received this Present very
agreeably, inviting him to go-see the Prince his
eldest Son; saying, that on his Account the
Prince would receive his Visit, though at such a
Time of Mourning. After this, he took the
Sieur d'Elbe by the Hand, and dismissed him
with such Marks of Favour as he had never shown
to any *European* before.

Causes be-
cause a by
now.

Reverence
paid him

THE King is so revered by his Subjects, that
except his Son and the chief Priest no-body must
appear before him, but with his Face prostrate to
the Ground*, not even daring to look-up; only
when obliged to answer, they raise their Head a
little, but lay it down as soon as they have done
speaking, as was done by the two great Captains
of Trade and Horse at this Audience. Only the
Prince and chief Priest are exempted from this
submission. These speak to the King standing,
and have a Privilege of entering the Palace at
all Hours, Day or Night, without being sent
for.

THE *Sieur d'Elbe* having, by the King's
Favour, been taken to see the Palace and Gar-
dens*, visited all the Apartments, except that of

the Women, where no-body is permitted to enter.

1670.
d'Elbe.

THE *Sieur d'Elbe* and his Company were
conducted to the Prince, by the great Captain of
the Horse, at the Head of an hundred Troopers,
who were armed with Blunderbusses and Sabres.
Their Horses were large and strong, but all bit-
ted; the Saddles small and flat*, with Stirrups
in the *Portuguese* Fashion. These Horsemen had
but one *Pagne*; a pointed Cap like our Dra-
goons, and Leather Boots, or Buskins, that came
half Way up their Leg; with large Spurs that
had but one Point. The *Sieur d'Elbe* and his
Retinue were in Hamocks, and he had an Um-
brella carried over his Head.

THE Prince did not reside in the Capital, but
in a Town a small League distant. As the
Town of *Alfon* has but one Gate, they were
obliged to take a Compas round the Walls to
get into the Road.

THE Prince received the *Sieur d'Elbe* with a
great deal of Politeness, and on his Account dis-
pensed with the Ceremonial, which admits no
Person of Distinction to see Company during the
Times of Mourning. The Hall where he gave
Audience was large, and covered with a *Turkey*
Carpet. The Prince was seated on a Mat. He
caused others to be brought for the *Sieur d'Elbe*,
and his two Officers. After an Hour's Con-
versation, in which he assured the *French* Nation of
his Protection and Friendship, he called for Li-
quors, and drank Mouth to Mouth with the
Sieur d'Elbe, causing Liquors to be presented to
the others; after which he rose-up. The *Sieur*
d'Elbe took his Leave and returned to the Town
the same Way he came, alighting at the House
of the chief Priest, who had invited him to
Supper.

He was received here with the greatest Po-
liteness. The Floor of the Hall where they eat
was covered with a large *Turkey* Carpet, on
which were spread fine, clean Mats, which
served for Table-Cloths. The Guests were
served on fine *Disks* Plates, with Napkins twice
as large as ours. The Entertainment consisted
of boiled and roast Meat, and Ragouts in their
Way, with Variety of Wine and Liquors. The
great Priest forgot nothing to regale his Guests:
As he knew they were not used to sitting on the
Ground, he had provided Satin and Taffeta
Cushions, to accommodate them more at Ease.
This Entertainment was heightened by Music,
which began about the Middle of the Repast.
Voices, like those of little Children, were heard,
as coming from a great Distance, accompanied with

* This must be understood of Subjects only

* See the Geography hereafter.

Rafes.

Sieve-Coat.

the Tinkling of little Bells, which the *Sieur d'Elbée* observed with the greater Attention, as he found a Harmony in them^a.

Wife joins his Wives.

THE great Priest, who spoke *Portuguese* perfectly well, asked the *Sieur d'Elbée* what he thought of these Voices? He replied, They are little Children, who sing well and keep good Time to their Instruments. *They are my Wives*, says the Priest, *who give you this little Diversion: It is not the Custom here to show our Wives to any; but to convince you of the Esteem I have for the French, I will give you that Satisfaction if you please.* The *Sieur d'Elbée* returned him Thanks, and when Supper was over, the Priest conducted him and his Company up to a high Gallery, which had a Window looking into the Hall where they supped. These Women were there to the Number of between seventy and eighty. They had only Petticoats, or *Pagnes*, of Taffeta, which covered them from the Waist downwards, leaving the upper Part naked. Some of them had Taffeta Girdles. They sat on Mats, at the End and Sides of the Gallery, pretty close to each other, and one by one.

Friends to Vice-King's Edict.

THE Arrival of the Pontiff and Strangers seemed to give them neither Emotion nor Curiosity. They continued their Singing and Music, striking with little Rods on their Bells of Iron and Metal, which were cylindrical and of different Sizes. Their Modesty on so uncommon an Occasion, was very commendable^b.

AT the Corner of this Gallery was a Figure the Bigness of a Child of four Years old, and all white. *D'Elbée* asking what Image it was, the Priest told him it was the Devil's: *But the Devil is not white*, says *d'Elbée*. In making him black, answered the Priest, *you commit a Mistake; for I can assure you he is very white, having seen and spoken with him several Times. It is six Months since he informed me of the Design you had formed in France to open a Trade here. You are obliged to him*, added he, *since, pursuant to this Advice, we have neglected the other Europeans, that you might the sooner have your Cargo of Slaves.* *D'Elbée* believed what he thought proper^c, but would not dispute the Point with the Priest.

His Person and Dress.

THIS great Priest was about forty; tall, well-made, and of an agreeable Aspect. He wore the same Dress with the King's principal Officers; that is, two large *Pagnes* of Silk Stuff, or Brocade, one over the other; a large Scarf like a Belt; Cotton Drawers, pretty long; Sandals, or

a Kind of Pumps of red *Spanish Leather*; a Cap, or *European Hat*; a large Coteau, with a gilt Handle, fastened at his Girdle, and a Cane in his Hand. This he quits when he enters the King's Apartment, whose Prime Minister he is, not only as to what regards Religion, but in Affairs of State. He is the only Officer who has a Right to enter the King's Apartment by Day, and to speak to him Face to Face without Prostration. He showed the *Sieur d'Elbée* all the Civilities imaginable, waiting on him to the Gate of his Palace, which he would not re-enter till he had seen him in his Hamock. The same Night, he was carried back to *Offra*, with the same *Escorte* which had attended him to *Affen*.

THE Dominions of *Ardrah* are not considerable towards the Sea, since the Kingdoms of *Whidah* and *Pape* have been dismembered from it. Their Extent along the Coast is not above twenty-five Leagues, but they run a great Way inland, as their Bounds East and West are the Rivers *Volta* and *Benin*, which are an hundred Leagues asunder. Its Extent to the North and North-East is yet greater: However, they say it can raise but forty or fifty thousand Men, which is a small Number to two hundred thousand, which the King of *Whidah* can assemble: But it must be considered, that the Troops of the King of *Ardrah* are not Militia, like those of *Whidah*, but regular Troops, constantly kept-up, who only want Fire-Arms and good Officers, to be able to recover the revolted Provinces, and other Countries the King of *Ardrah* has a Title to.

THE People can neither write nor read. They use small Conds tied, the Knots of which have their Signification. These are also used by several savage Nations in *America*. The *Grandees* however, who all understand the *Portuguese* Language, both read and write it well; but they have no Characters of their own^d.

ALL Men of Rank here wear two Petticoats of Taffeta, or other Silk. They have also Silk Scarves in the Form of a Shoulder-Belt. They usually go bare-headed and bare-foot, though they may wear Caps or Hats; and Sandals or Buskins of Leather, except in the King's Palace. The common People are covered from the Waist to the Knees with a Piece of Serge, which makes two Foldings, and the Ends cross over the Navel. The Labourers and poorer Sort have only a Scrap of Cotton-Cloth, or Mat, which covers their Nudities, and the rest is all naked.

THE Women of Condition have Petticoats

^a *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 229. & seq.

^b *Labat* seems to believe, that the Priest, who bragged of an open Correspondence with the Devil, had fastened their Eyes so as not to see the French. The *Jacquin* discovers more Understanding on this Occasion, by denying that the Devil knows what is to come, unless by Conjecture, and the Knowledge his great Age has given him.

^c *Marchais*, as before, p. 254.

^d *Idem*.

Slave-
Court.

and Scarves like the Men, and as they seldom a
 bir abroad, they have generally nothing on their
 Feet or Head. The poor Women wear short
 Pagnes.

THEY have an odd Custom here. If a mar-
 ried Woman prostitutes herself to a Slave, and
 the Master of the Slave be a greater Man than
 the Master of the Woman, the Woman becomes
 his Slave; but if, on the contrary, the Woman's
 Husband be of greater Dignity, the Adulterer
 becomes his Slave.

The King's
State.

ALL the Officers of the King's Household take
 the Title of Captain, joined to the Name of his
 Office. Thus the Master of the Table; the Purveyor,
 Captain of the Victuals; the Cup-bearer, Cap-
 tain of the Wine, &c. No Person sees the King
 eat; and when he drinks, an Officer makes a
 signal, with two Iron Rods, that all those pre-
 sent may prostrate themselves on the Ground.
 It is Death even to see him drink, though inad-
 vertently. The Officer who presents the Cup
 turns his Back, and gives it in that Posture.
 They say this is done to prevent any Charms or
 Sorcery at that Time. A young Child, a great
 Favourite of the King's, having fallen asleep by
 him, and awaking at the Noise of the Rods,
 had the Misfortune to look at the King while he
 was drinking: The great Priest ordered the Infant
 to be killed on the spot, and some Drops of his
 Blood sprinkled on the King's Cloaths and Body,
 to prevent any ill Consequences. The King is
 always served on the Knee; and the same Respect
 is paid the Dishes, either earned to or from his
 Table, those who stand in the Officer's Way be-
 ing obliged to prostrate themselves as they pass.
 It is such a Crime even to look at the King's
 Victuals; that the Offender is punished with
 Death, and his Family made Slaves.

Rhody-
minded Priest.King's
Wives.

THOUGH the King has a great Number of
 Wives, yet but one has the Title of Queen,
 who is she that bears him the first Son. Her
 Authority over the rest, whom she treats rather
 as her Servants than Companions, is so great,
 that she sometimes sells them for Slaves, without
 consulting the King, who is forced to wink at
 the Matter. An Affair of this Kind happened
 while the *Sieur d'Ellis* traded here. The Queen
 having been refused by the King some Goods or
 Jewels she had an Inclination for, ordered them
 up privately; and in Exchange sent eight of his
 Wives to the Factory, who were immediately
 stamped with the Company's Mark and sent on

board. These poor Princesses had sunk under so
 severe a Stroke, if the *Sieur d'Ellis* had not
 shown them some Distinction, by treating them
 in a kind Manner; so he carried them in good
 Health to *Martinico*.

1670.

d'Ellis.

As to their Religion, it is a confused Heap of
 Superstition, hardly worthy that Name. Their
 Notions of a Supreme Being are extremely con-
 fused and obscure: They have no Temples, nor
 any Form of Worship; they offer neither Prayers
 nor Sacrifices. They are only concerned about
 what relates to this Life, having no Idea of a
 future State.

THIS *Taxifon*, King of *Ardrab*, who was
 bred in a Portuguese Convent at *St. Thomas*, and
 seemed no Way inclined to the Religion of his
 Country, might possibly have been brought over
 to the *Ramiffi* Faith, if it were not through Fear of
 the High Priest; whose Authority is so great, that
 he might dethrone him if he attempted to intro-
 duce a new Religion. It is this Priest who assigns
 every Family the *Fetishes*, or Idols, they must
 worship, to save them from the Evils of this
 Life.

THE King's *Fetishes*, as well as those of the
 State, are certain large, black Birds, like Crows
 in Europe. The Palace Gardens are full of these,
 who are well fed, but by no Means so respected
 as the Serpents are at *Whidah*. They only im-
 agine, that if one of them should be killed, some
 great Misfortune would happen to the State.
 Private Persons have their particular *Fetishes*,
 some a Mountain, others a Tree; some a Stone,
 a Piece of Wood, or such like inanimate Body,
 which they behold with Respect, but without of-
 fering either Prayers or Sacrifices. This Religion,
 you see, is very commodious, and no Way in-
 loaded with Ceremonies.

THERE is but one Ceremony in all the State,
 the Design and Reasons of which are not well
 known. The great Priest has a House in each
 Town, where he sends the Wives of free Peo-
 ple, by Turns, to learn certain Exercises, which
 might be supposed of a religious Kind, if there
 was any Religion in the Country. Here they
 stay five or six Months, and are instructed by old
 Women, who learn them a Sort of Dance and
 Song. They make them enter by Companies,
 Day and Night, into a Hall destined for this
 Purpose, and after fixing to their Arms and Feet
 slight Irons and Pieces of Copper to make a
 Noise, they oblige them to dance and sing with
 all their Force. The Dance consists in stamping

* *Marchant's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 265.

the Dishes, are exempted from this Law.

his own Slave, nor their; yet this *Jacobs* would give it the Gloss of Compassion.

Wives in *Whidah*, already described, p. 36.

* It is to be presumed, that the Cooks and Officers, who carry

* *Marchant*, as before, p. 363. *Id. seq.*

* This was for

* *Marchant*, as be-

* This Custom seems to be of the same Kind with that of educating or instructing

Slave-
Costs.

with their Feet, and a violent Agitation of their Body, which is very fatiguing and difficult to support. This they accompany with a Singing intermixed with Cries, which sound like Howlings in Time and Measure.

Fatiguing
Exercise.

THEY pursue this extravagant Exercise till they drop-down with Faintness, when their old Mistresses substitute, in their Place, a new Band of Scholars, who continue the Diversion, to the great Disturbance of those who live near such roaring Seminaries. The *Sieur d'Elbée* had this Misfortune, and could get no Rest, Night or Day, till he removed. He found, at *Assam*, some Christian Negroes, who came to beg Chaplets of him, and seemed desirous of hearing Mass; but he had not brought his Chaplain with him. It is probable these Negroes had been baptized by the Portuguese during their Settlement in *Ardrab*; for there were none of that Nation here then.

Commerce of
Ardrab.

THE Trade of *Ardrab* is Provisions and Slaves, of which last about three thousand are annually exported. They are of different Sorts: Some are Prisoners of War; others are Contributions levied on the Countries tributary to the King of *Ardrab*; Some are Criminals, whose Punishment is commuted into Slavery: Others are born Slaves; such are the Children of Slaves, of whatever Kind they be: Some are Debtors, who being insolvent, are sold for the Benefit of their Creditors. All who disobey the King's Orders are irrecoverably condemned to Death, and their Wives and Relations, to a certain Degree, become the King's Slaves.

How con-
sisted on.

THE King has his Choice of all Goods, whether for the Payment of his Duties, or for the Slaves he sells. He is commended for paying very exactly and borrowing nothing, as the other Negro Kings do. Next to the King, the hereditary Prince, the chief Priest, and great Captains have the Choice of Goods, and the Right of first selling their Slaves. As to the People, there is a regulated Tariff for Trade; the Price of Goods and Slaves being settled so, that there are seldom any Differences, and when they happen, they are soon adjusted by the King.

ALL Vessels, great and small, pay the same Duty of fifty Slaves; which, at eighteen Bars a Head, amount in Goods to nine hundred Bars per Ship. Besides this, there is a Duty of two Slaves for Watering, and four for Wood; but if you take neither in, you are not obliged to pay.

Costs for
Importation.

THE Goods proper for the Slave-Trade here, are large white Beads; large crystal Pendants; large gilt Hangers; coloured Taffetas; striped

and pinked Silks; fine Handkerchiefs; Iron Bars; *Blajis*; Copper Bells of a cylindric, or conic Form; long Coral; Copper and Brass Balons of all Sizes; Guns; Brandy; large Umbrellas; Looking-Glasses in gilt Frames; China, and India Silks and Taffetas; Gold and Silver in Dust, and English and Dutch Crowns. As the best Slave may be had for ten of these last, there is a great deal gained by them.

THE Cargo of the *Justice* being completed, and Provisions, Wood, and Water taken-in for six hundred Slaves, the *Sieur d'Elbée* left the *Cinco* behind. She wanted her full Complement, and set-sail, March the thirtieth, 1670, for *St. Thomas*, to get more Provisions for so long a Voyage as that to *Martinico*.

S E C T. III.

An EMBASSY from the King of *Ardrab* to Louis the Fourteenth, in 1670.

1. The Ambassador's Arrival and Audience.

The French insulted by the Dutch. Apply to the King. The King's Answer: He appoints an Ambassador. They come to Martinico. Arrive at Dieppe. The Ambassador enters Paris: Visited by the Directors of the Company; His polite Replies: Conducted to Court; and to Audience of the King: His Speech to Louis the Fourteenth. The King's Answer.

THE Dutch, who beheld, with an envious Eye, the new Settlement of the French at *Ardrab*, and their Favour with the King, began to apprehend the Ruin of their Trade. They had hitherto concealed their Relentment, being kept in Awe by the two French Ships in the Road: But on the *Sieur d'Elbée's* Departure, there being but one left, whose Captain, the *Sieur Jamain*, was dead, and two Dutch Ships coming-in, they began to show their Animosity, by attempting to take-down the French Flag of the Factory at *Praya*; pretending the Dutch only ought to enjoy that Privilege. While the *Sieur Mariage*, the French Director, with his People, ran to oppose this Violence, the *Fidalgo*, or Governor of the Town, halted to interpose his Authority, in order to prevent Things from coming to Extremity. He represented to both Parties how much his Master would be offended at such Proceedings; adding, that he would never suffer such Disputes in his Dominions, but would banish the Aggressors.

¹ *Morichini's Voyage*, vol. 2. p. 267, § 169.

² *Morichini's Voyage*.

³ *Morichini*, as before, p. 265.

⁴ *The Saint*, p. 288, § 169.

⁵ The same, p. 267.

⁶ *Morichini*.

THESE Remonstrances checked the Fury of a "him, and have him safely conducted to your King's Court. In the mean Time, it is my Pleasure, that you embrace before me, that you eat together, and promise to live in good Harmony."

THE two Factors found this Decision too equitable not to comply with it: They embraced each other, and were treated by the Prince, in one of the Apartments of the Palace, with great Magnificence; the King sending them Meats from his own Table, and his own Wine, and would have given them his Company if the Ceremonial had allowed it. After this, he granted a long Audience to the *Sieur Mariage*, at which only the Prince and *Lopez*, the Ambassador, were present; who, as the Vessel was almost ready to sail, had but a few Days to prepare for the Voyage.

THE Presents which the King of *Ardrab* sent to the King of *France*, were rather valuable for their Novelty, than any Thing else. They consisted in two Hangers wrought in this Country; two *Affagates* neatly wrought; a Vest; and a Carpet made of the Bark of Trees, the Fineness and Ornaments of which were highly finished, and in a good Taste.

THE *Coneard* set-sail with near six hundred *Slaves*; and the Ambassador was treated with all the Distinction due to his Character and Merit. He was of a great Age, as appeared by the Whiteness of his Hair and Beard; yet he walked upright, had good Eyes, an Air of Quality, and an agreeable Countenance. He was very polite and spoke the *Portuguese* with great Elegance. His Office of Interpreter Royal was joined with that of Secretary of State. He had been instructed in the *Romish* Principles, and promised to be baptized, as soon as the King, his Master, admitted Missionaries. He knew the Prayers in *Portuguese*, and assisted at Mass, on board the Vessel, with great Attention. He was a wife Man, who spoke little himself, but asked many Questions; writing-down exactly what he saw or heard. He had been several Times Ambassador at the Courts of *Benin* and *Oyo*, and seemed well acquainted with the Manners and Customs of the States adjoining to the Kingdom of *Ardrab*. He carried with him but three of his Wives, and three of his youngest Sons, with seven or eight Domestic.

LET your Masters regulate the Point of Precedency and the Right of Flags between you; ignorant as I am of their Power, it does not become me to decide in this Matter; you must address yourselves to them. Although the Date of the *Dutch* Settlement in my Country seems to intitle them to the Preference, beyond a new Comer, yet the great Things I have heard of the King of *France*, and the Extent of his Dominions, incline me rather to break-in a little on the *Dutch* Rights, than be wanting in the Respect due to so great a Prince. I therefore forbid you both to set-up Flags, or enter-into any new Disputes, till you have the Decision of your Superiors. And as I am desirous of knowing fully the Grandeur of the King of *France*, and to assure him of my Regard, I name for my Ambassador to him, my Royal Interpreter *Mattie Lopez*; whom (addressing himself to the *Sieur Mariage*) I desire you will grant a Passage in your Ship, hoping you will take Care of

^a This Name, which is *Portuguese*, shews the Credit this Nation once had at *Ardrab*; where, adds *Lopez*, they had introduced their Language, Customs, and Religion.

^b This might be a flaccid Answer, knowing, perhaps, that the King never would admit any, as happened at *Whidah*. See before, p. 28.